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POLITICAL TRACTS:

CONTAINING THE
STATE, VIEWS, AND INTERESTS,
OF THE
PRINCIPAL POWERS IN EUROPE.

POLITICAL TRACTS

CONTAINING THE

STATE, VIEW, AND INTERESTS



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POLITICAL TRACTS:

CONTAINING THE
STATE, VIEWS, AND INTERESTS,
OF THE PRINCIPAL
POWERS IN EUROPE.

ALSO,
THE OUTLINES OF A LEAGUE
FOR
MAINTAINING PUBLIC TRANQUILLITY.

WITH
A PLAN
TO
INCREASE THE POPULATION & REVENUE
AND
DIMINISH THE ANNUAL EXPENCE
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

By JAMES GREEN,
LIEUTENANT IN HIS MAJESTY'S MARINE FORCES: AUTHOR
OF ESSAYS ON DIFFERENT GOVERNMENTS, &c. &c.

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INTRODUCTION.

IT is well known that the Rulers of Great Britain have, during the greater part of the present century, amused the people with a speedy Reduction of the National Debt. But it must be evident, that the liquidation, or even a considerable reduction, of the Public Debt, can never be brought about without either some considerable Augmentation of the public Revenue, or some equally considerable Reduction of the Public Expence.

I PRESUME, therefore, to think, that a commercial treaty with France, the cultivation of the crown-lands, an equal land-tax, a commutation for tithes, the improvement and extension of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, would produce a very considerable augmentation of revenue: And that the suppression of the greater part of the bounties, the reduction of the enormous expences in collecting the taxes, the sale of Gibraltar, the cession of Canada and Corsica, those expensive and useless appendages of the Empire, and the abolition of all great sinecure places, whether in Church or State, would greatly diminish the annual expences of Government; and consequently reduce that load of debt and taxes under which the Empire may sooner or later sink.

I SHALL, in the following Treatise, allot a chapter for each of the preceding subjects, and endeavour to show their tendency to increase the Revenue, and diminish the Public Expence.

I MAY justly assert, that a considerable reduction of the expences of Government, and a very considerable increase of revenue, will prove the only stay, the only salvation, of the British empire,

BUT, as this economical system cannot be adopted, while wars, and the frenzy of conquest, continue to be the ruling passions of the governors of mankind, I shall endeavour to show the fatal effects of war and extent of dominion ; the situation, strength, views, and interests, of the principal powers in Europe ; and lay before the reader the outlines of a league for maintaining Public tranquillity ; upon which, and the industry of the people, the prosperity of nations depends.

THE love of peace, concern for the fate which seems to threaten the Empire, attachment to my Sovereign, and fellow-subjects, and an ardent desire to promote the prosperity of the Nation, urge me to submit my sentiments, a third time, to the indulgence of the Public.

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POLITICAL TRACTS.

CHAP. I.

AMOUNT OF THE COMMERCE, AND EFFECTS OF THE DEBT AND TAXES OF THE EMPIRE.

GREAT Britain, on account of the natural fertility of the soil, the great extent of the sea-coast in proportion to that of the whole country, and of the many canals and navigable rivers which run through it, and afford the conveniency of water-carriage to some of the most inland parts of it, is as well adapted by nature as any large country in Europe, to be the seat of foreign commerce, of manufactures for distant sale, and of all the improvements which these can occasion.

From the beginning of the reign of Elisabeth, too, the Legislature has been peculiarly attentive to the interest of commerce and manufactures, and, in reality, there is no country in Europe, Holland not excepted, of which the law is, upon the whole, more favourable to this sort of industry. Commerce and manufactures have accordingly been continually advancing during all this period. The cultivation and improvement of the country have,

no doubt, been gradually advancing too ; but it seems to have followed slowly, and at a distance, the more rapid progress of commerce and manufactures.

Towards the close of Elisabeth's reign, the exports of England amounted to 2,487,435 l. ; and its imports to 2,145,155 l.

Since that period, the commerce of Great Britain has increased to such a degree, that the amount of it to foreign countries was, in the year 1792, calculated at twenty-five millions Sterling, and imports at nineteen-millions. Yet our foreign trade does not amount to one-sixth part of the inland, or home trade, the most important of all, in which an equal capital affords the greatest revenue, and creates the greatest employment to the people in the country.*

* It was lately said, that the amount of our exports and imports appeared upon the custom-house books to be considerably higher than the above estimate. But Dr Anderson justly observes, " that custom-house books are not of such an authority as to be relied on implicitly, as a criterion in matters of this kind. He asserts, that the inhabitants of the country are the consumers of nineteen-twentieths of its produce and manufactures : And adds, that we must not estimate the improvement on the industry of a state by the value of its exports. It is only those exports which consist of the produce and manufactures of the country itself, which promote the industry of its inhabitants. Till these, therefore, are ascertained, the value of the goods exported, can convey no idea of the benefit that the national industry derives from its trade. We export annually of East Indies goods to the value of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds. These do not promote the industry of the nation. We export annually to the value of near two millions in coin and

But this vast opulence has been found insufficient to supply the exigences of government; the interest of the national debt, which amounts to about four hundred millions, incurred by carrying on our European continental wars; and by extending and protecting our distant, ideal, and expensive conquests, far exceeds any thing that can be derived from the external commerce of the country, even rating it at the highest possible value.

To defray the interest of the debt, including charges for management, and the other annual expences of a peace-establishment, which will probably amount to about twenty millions *, the Legislature has been obliged to impose enormous taxes, most of which fall upon the necessaries of life. By these, trade and manufactures must undoubtedly be hurt, by raising the price of subsistence, as well as the

bullion, that does not surely promote the manufactures of Britain. A nation might carry on trade to an immense extent, without exporting a single article, either of its own manufactures or produce. The exports from St Eustatia, in time of war, are perhaps equal to a thousand times the value of the whole produce of the islands. From hence he concludes, that no idea can be formed of the augmentation of the industry that Britain derives from her commerce, merely by considering the value of her exports." According to Mr Chalmers's estimate of the strength of Great Britain, there is included, in the above account of our exports, foreign merchandize, valued at 7,500,000 l.

* The Earl of Lauderdale, in his late Treatise on the Finances, makes it appear that our taxes will, at the close of the war, amount to the enormous sum of twenty five millions.

materials to be manufactured; which additional expence must be first laid upon the commodity manufactured, and ultimately upon the people. This unavoidable measure, together with the emigrations to our colonies, and the waste of people by carrying on our wars, and defending our foreign conquests, has retarded the progress of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and population; and consequently weakened every principle of the internal strength of the kingdom †.

In what degree, or to what extent, we are really affected by public burdens, is variously conjectured. It has been asserted by very able, and well informed members, both of the upper and lower Houses of Parliament, that any person who will give himself the trouble to calculate the amount of the land and other taxes, will find, on a moderate computation, that they cannot be laid, *in what he expends*, at less than fifteen shillings in the pound, or seventy five *per cent*. The Duke of Richmond has, in his place, declared it as his opinion, that the pressure is not less than seventeen shillings in the pound. But Lord Newhaven computes it to be only twelve shillings in the pound, in satisfaction of a revenue of fifteen millions, the amount of the peace establishment at the time his Lordship wrote.

It has been very clearly demonstrated by Dr Adam Smith, the ingenious author of the *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the*

† See Blackstone's Commentaries.

Wealth of Nations, " That a public debt is, to every State, a calamity of the most ruinous kind ; and that the waste of public treasure, by great fleets and armies, though the whole of the money were to be spent at home, must prove pernicious and destructive ; nay, that it would be almost as much so then, as when they are maintained at an equal expence abroad. That, in both cases, the national stock is equally diminished, and the money, which should give exertion to useful and productive industry, is diverted to the wasteful maintenance of unproductive mouths ; and that the taxes by which this revenue must be raised from the people, must at last, in a manner, extinguish the agriculture, industry, and manufactures of the Kingdom."

CHAP. II.

CONSEQUENCES OF WAR AND EXTENT OF EMPIRE.

OF all the scourges to which mankind are subjected, war is doubtless the most considerable. It is the greatest of all evils that can befall a flourishing nation. It is at no time, and under no circumstances, a very desirable measure. It is an evil to be endured, when unavoidable, rather than coveted, when unnecessary. Religion condemns the practice of war; reason forbids it; true policy is averse to it; and experience declares it to be the scourge of mankind. War desolates the country, lays the proud city, and peaceful village, in ashes, and levels the stately palace, as well as the hut of the harmless cottager; destroying, in its deadly progress, the fine productions of art as well as of nature. It sweeps away, by a premature death, millions of the human species; and ruins numberless families. It retards population; depresses industry; destroys commerce; suspends agriculture; and ruins manufactures. It enriches a few individuals, while it loads the nation with debt, and the people with taxes. In fine, war, in every free state, extends the influence of the

executive power, by the increase of taxes, sinecure places, offices, naval and military establishments; and renders it difficult to stem the torrent of corruption, and the progress of despotism.

Notwithstanding these are the natural consequences of war, yet to the bulk of mankind nothing seems so much to forward the prosperity of a state, and to add to its stability, as the enlarging of its territories. But it is well known to the intelligent reader, that the extension of territory was a principal cause of the declension of industry and commerce, as well as the fall of every state and empire in the ancient world; and that it has weakened many of the modern nations of Europe.

Extent of empire affords numberless temptations to engage in war; and an empire extended like the British, is peculiarly liable to this defect. It at the same time diminishes our strength, and exposes us to danger.

Montesquieu, speaking of the defensive force of states in general, observes, "That the real power of a prince does not consist so much in the facility he meets with in making conquests, as the difficulty an enemy finds in attacking him, and, if I may so speak, in the immutability of his condition. But the increase of territory obliges a government to expose new sides by which it may be attacked. As monarchs, therefore, ought to be endued with wisdom in order to increase, they ought likewise to have an equal share of prudence to limit their power. Upon removing the in-

conveniencies of too small a territory, they ought to have their eye constantly on the inconveniencies that attend its immoderate enlargement."

Few of the modern powers of Europe have been so prudent as to adopt this maxim.

The *Venetians*, once the most formidable commercial and maritime power in Europe, actuated by a lust of domination, for the sake of extending their trade, invested and reduced the city of Constantinople, once the seat of commerce, as well as of empire, and extended their conquests over a considerable part of the continents of Europe and Asia. Their extensive dominions exciting the jealousy of the other powers of Europe, confederacies were formed against them, by which they were more than once brought to the brink of destruction. At length, stripped of their Asiatic territories, as well as those of Turkey in Europe, their power and opulence are now almost entirely annihilated; and their fleet, reduced to a few gallies, are scarcely sufficient for curbing the insolencies of the piratical States of Barbary.

In consequence of the discovery of both the Indies, the chief trade of Europe fell into the hands of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*. The former erected an extensive empire in South America; while the latter established settlements and factories in India, and monopolized, for almost a century, the commerce of that country; which raised the petty kingdom of

Portugal to a considerable rank among the nations of Europe.

But the Portuguese soon changed their schemes of trade into projects of conquest ; and the nation, which had never been guided by the true commercial spirit, soon assumed that of rapine and plunder. Animated with the rage of conquest, the Portuguese extended themselves over vast tracts of land in India, Africa, and America, which no European nation would have been able to preserve, without impairing its population and strength. Thus the small kingdom of Portugal exhausted itself in soldiers and sailors, sent to extend and maintain its conquests.

The accumulation of riches, and the introduction of foreign luxuries, enervated the nation, corrupted the morals of the people, and ended in ravages and universal confusion. After a series of victories and defeats, in settling and supporting their colonies in Africa, they were expelled from that continent, with the loss of their sovereign and his whole army.

In India, crimes of every sort became familiar to the Portuguese ; they cut the throats of the natives ; and tore each other in pieces. The governor, who was just arrived, loaded his predecessor with irons, that he might strip him of his wealth. The distance of the scene, false witnesses, and large bribes, secured every crime from punishment. At length, detested in every part of India, weakened by their conquests and luxury, and envied by every maritime power in Europe, they were

expelled by the Dutch from almost the whole of their settlements in the East.

Thus, in consequence of war and extensive conquests, the commerce of Portugal, which is now chiefly carried on by foreign nations, has declined ; her agriculture and manufactures are in a low state ; her population is diminished ; her peasants are indolent and beggarly ; and her navy is reduced to a few line of battle ships : And this kingdom, formerly celebrated for its valour and naval exploits, now depends on Great Britain for protection.

At the time (1492) that Columbus set sail for America, *Spain* was the most warlike and powerful, the most populous and best cultivated, kingdom in Europe. She contained twenty five millions of inhabitants, who had abundance of food, and to spare ; and possessed numerous manufactures, which were in the most flourishing condition.

Her agriculture is now in a wretched state ; her manufactures deserve not to be named ; and her inhabitants, reduced to nine millions, partly depend on other nations for subsistence.

This humiliating change was owing to her long and destructive wars in Europe and Africa, particularly in conquering and protecting the vast empires of Mexico and Peru in South America ; where the Spaniards committed the most horrid cruelties, sparing no age or sex, nothing sacred or profane, destroying many millions of the natives, and reducing thousands of families to extreme servitude and misery.

The waste of people, by emigrating to America, and carrying on her European wars, thinned old Spain of its best inhabitants; and the plunder of America being wasted, and the revenue from that continent falling short of the demands of the Crown, necessity obliged the Court of Spain to impose heavy taxes on her European subjects. This gave the finishing blow to her manufactures. The inhabitants at home, oppressed beyond what could be borne, migrated in thousands to the colonies, where gold was to be obtained with so much ease: The domestic revenue being thus in a manner annihilated, and the foreign revenue considerably diminished, mankind beheld a phenomenon perhaps the most unlooked for that ever happened; the Lord of all the treasures of the New World, and the Sovereign of the most extensive dominions in Europe, a public bankrupt! From that time, the Spanish Monarchy has been incessantly declining.

Owing to the excessive severity and despotism of Philip, the *Dutch* threw off his yoke; and were, after a long and glorious struggle, acknowledged independent States. By the loss of the Armada, a fatal blow was given to the naval power of the kingdom. Portugal, after it had been conquered, and annexed to the Empire, revolted, and established its monarchy in the House of Braganza. Jamaica, that invaluable acquisition to the commerce of Great Britain, was reduced by the English; and Dunkirk, surrendering to the combined

forces of France and England, was ceded to Cromwell. The Low Countries, invaded by superior forces, and the Spanish infantry, anciently so formidable, were annihilated, by the prince of Conde, in the fields of Rocroy. France Compte, Rousillon, Artois and Flanders, became provinces of France; and the fortress of Gibraltar an appendage of the British Empire. In the course of her late wars, the resources of the nation have been diminished, and its revenues anticipated: And such is the state of a kingdom, which formerly gave law to all Europe, as well as to the southern continent of America, that its inhabitants, unable to defend their country against the attacks of a handful of French troops, were lately obliged to submit to the will of the conquerors.

What a change! What an example to all the rulers of mankind! What law in nature is there that tends to guard Britain from a similar fate, if she shall pursue a similar conduct? And what argument can be adduced, to show that she has not, in a great measure, adopted a similar conduct?

The sovereigns of *France*, impelled by ambition, and a passion for universal monarchy, have long kept the four quarters of the globe convulsed; and rendered Europe, in particular, a dismal scene of carnage and devastation. In support of this assertion, I take the liberty to quote the authority of the British sovereigns and ministers, who have uniformly maintained, that the French were always the aggres-

sors ; and that all our evils and burdens flowed from the despotism of France.

In the course of their ruinous and destructive wars, often carried on against one half of Europe, the French established settlements in Africa and India ; planted colonies in North America and the West Indies ; placed one of their princes on the throne of Spain, and thereby acquired a natural and faithful ally ; and, encroaching on all their neighbours, rendered their empire both compact and extensive, as well as the most formidable in Europe.

But, by prosecuting their wars and protecting their conquests, an immense debt was contracted ; and, after imposing heavy and oppressive taxes on their subjects, the sovereigns were more than once obliged to have recourse to the arbitrary and ruinous mode of raising and lowering the value of money, as it suited their purpose. This produced national bankruptcies, gave the finishing blow to public credit ; shook the foundations of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and reduced the great body of the people to poverty. Such was the state of France at the peace of Utrecht.

Since that period, the French have involved Britain in two great wars, and supported her rebellious colonies in a third ; by which they sustained a loss of a million of people, and incurred a debt of two hundred and twenty millions sterling. By carrying on these wars, and protecting their distant colonies and conquests, notwithstanding the extent and popu-

lation of the kingdom, the increase of its manufactures, produce, and commerce, the French monarchs were obliged to impose numerous and oppressing taxes on their subjects.

At length, it was found, that the immense annual revenue of twenty four millions sterling was unequal to support a brilliant Court, and defray the expences of an extravagant government, by a no less sum than three millions sterling. The Parliament refusing to register the edicts for the new and numerous taxes, and the nation in general exclaiming against them, it was deemed expedient to convene the States General. This measure led to the establishment of a limited Monarchy; and Lewis the 16th, adopting the pernicious counsels of others, fell a victim to the rage and resentment of an oppressed people *, as well as

* The author of the impartial History of the late Revolution in France, justly observes, " that history, ancient or modern, affords no instance of a country, in which despotism was reduced to so complete a system as in France. The King levied taxes, by his sole authority, to a greater annual amount than are raised by the whole of those immense territories which compose the Germanic body. The people were studiously depressed by poverty, ignorance, and extortion. They had no rights, or were carefully instructed never to claim them. Every private citizen was liable to be forced, by the officers of government, from his starving family, to work in some corvée of public concern, or of absurd magnificence. He was taxed to more than half the amount of his income; and, among these, one of the most oppressive, was the gabelle, or salt tax, by which he was forced to pay at an exorbitant rate for that necessary commodity, while he was neither allowed to purchase where he pleased, or to

to the ambition of a few of his interested and diabolical subjects.

Thus, an enormous debt, and oppressive taxes, the inevitable consequences of war and

ascertain the quantity, but both were left at the discretion of the farmers of the revenue.

“ Tyranny, exercised upon the property of a nation, must ever be accompanied with a tyranny against their persons. The King and his Ministers possessed an unlimited power of imprisonment: Under the pretence of preserving the public tranquillity against traitors and insurgents, the detestable invention of letters *de cachet* was contrived: and this practice was carried to such a dreadful excess, that they were notoriously sold by the mistresses and favourites of the monarchs, and even by their subordinate agents; by which any person of the higher classes, for a pecuniary consideration, might gratify, to the full extent, his envy, his caprice, or his revenge.

“ The chain of despotism descended. The privileged orders, as they were called, the nobility and clergy, participated in the rapine and injustice of the Court. The nobility were bribed to the support of this immense fabric of corruption and misery, by a complete exemption from all public contributions; and their passions were gratified with the privilege of procuring letters *de cachet*, upon most occasions, against those who offended or displeased them. The clergy are said to have been invested with nearly a fifth of the net produce of the whole kingdom, exclusive of estates of immense value.

“ The administration of justice was well calculated to assimilate with the rest of the system. The criminal trials were generally secret, and the state trials always so. But the most complete absurdity was, that men were not elevated to the bench of justice for their talents or their integrity, but the seats on those venerable tribunals were publicly and notoriously sold to the highest bidder; and it is affirmed, that the decisions of the courts were scarcely less venal.

xtensive conquests, were the principal causes of the late Revolution in France, and the fall of the monarchy. What an awful and recent instructive lesson to politicians and statesmen !

“ Gross and audacious as were these abuses, the authority by which they were supported was too well guarded to be easily overturned.. A numerous mercenary army was always at the disposal of the King and favourites ; a system of police, at once the most perfect and the most arbitrary that ever was devised, pervaded every part of the kingdom ; and an host of spies and informers, dispersed throughout the nation, rendered more effectual service to the cause of despotism, than even the Janissaries of the monarchs.”

He concludes with the following just reflection: ‘ That so stupendous an edifice of tyranny should ever be brought to destruction, is the circumstance which ought chiefly to excite our surprise. It was formed for duration, and must have been permanent, had not the ambition of successive monarchs counteracted the arrangements of the corrupt, but ingenious authors of the system. The passion for war, and the practice of funding, (which sooner or later must effect a violent change in all the governments of Europe) brought that of France to a premature destruction.”

CHAP. III.

OUTLINES OF A LEAGUE, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN PUBLIC TRANQUILLITY.

As a reduction of the public expence, and an increase of revenue, can only be brought about in time of peace, I shall lay before the reader the situation, extent, strength, views, and interests, of the principal powers in Europe, and those of the United States of America; and endeavour to show the propriety of an alliance between Great Britain, France, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, in order to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, upon which the happiness and prosperity of its inhabitants depend.

STATE OF THE UNITED PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA.

THE *United States* of America ly between thirty-one and forty-six degrees of north latitude; and contain a million of square miles, and upwards of 5,500,000 inhabitants.

The soil and climate of this extensive country are various, but, in general, exceedingly

fertile. It produces every thing necessary for the comfort and happiness of the inhabitants.

Their exports consist of flour, grain, tobacco, rice, wood, salted-fish, fish-oil, pot and pearl ashes, salted-meats, indigo, live-animals, flax-seed, iron, and naval stores. From Mr Smith's state of their exports to the dominions of Great Britain and to those of France, it appears, that their exportations to the British dominions, upon an average of three years, from September 1789 to September 1792, exceeded those to the French dominions; in the very considerable sum of 3,752,760 dollars annually : and that the value of their exports to the dominions of Britain, for the year ending the 30th September 1790, amounted to 9,246,606 dollars.

Philadelphia, the capital of *Pensylvania*, and of the United States, is admirably situated for carrying on both an inland and foreign trade ; and will, in all probability, be, sooner or later, the seat of empire, as well as of commerce. It stands on the conflux of the rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, about eight miles from the sea, and where the former is about a mile broad. The city extends between the two rivers for about two miles in length, and was built on the plan of ancient Babylon. Every quarter of it is a complete square of eight acres, with one in the middle of ten acres, surrounded by the town houses, and other public buildings. The high-street runs the whole length of the town, being about one hundred feet wide. There are nineteen streets parallel

to it, crossed by others at right angles, each of them thirty feet broad ; which, communicating with canals from the two rivers, add greatly to the trade, the beauty, and healthiness of the city.

Maryland and *Virginia* are particularly adapted for the cultivation of tobacco, which, while they remained in subjection to Britain, was their principal article of commerce, but they now prefer the raising of wheat, of which they export great quantities.

The *Carolinas* are conveniently situated for commerce, owing to their numerous rivers, some of which fall into the Atlantic sea on the east, and the great river Mississippi on the west. This river is justly reckoned one of the largest in the world, and has been navigated as high as the fall of St Anthony, about 2400 miles from its mouth.

New York, the capital of the province of that name, is situated at the mouth of the great river Hudson, which is here three miles broad ; and, having a communication with the lakes of Canada, renders it very convenient for trade.

Boston, the capital of New England, is situated on a peninsula about nine miles from the mouth of Massachusetts bay. Its harbour is capable of containing three hundred sail ; and its inhabitants carry on a very

considerable commerce. This state produces iron, and a great variety of the best timber. In fine, the soil of the northern provinces equals the best in Britain, and produces cattle, hogs, poultry, fruits, particularly apples, and all kinds of grain in the utmost abundance.

With respect to the military force of this country, Congress seem to be great economists. Instead of those expensive standing armies to be met with on this side of the Atlantic, the whole military force of the United States lately amounted to no more than 1216 men, officers included; and even these answer no other purpose than that of garrisoning some small forts scattered through the back-settlements, none of which contain more than 30 or 40 men. As these have no other enemy to dread but the Indians, the militia are always ready to be draughted, in case of any emergency, and they are abundantly capable of contending with these adversaries. They enter into pay only when called into actual service; and, as soon as the war is at an end, they are dismissed, and their pay ceases.

Notwithstanding they have such plenty of materials for ship-building, a great extent of coast, and an increasing commerce, yet the raising of a navy does not appear to be an object with Congress. It is probable, that the debt incurred by their war with Britain was the principal cause of retarding the establishment of their marine, and the rigid economy with regard to their army.

In the year 1790, the debts of each individual state were found to amount to about sixteen millions Sterling, the annual interest of which, together with the expences of government, did not exceed one million two hundred thousand pounds. To discharge these debts, the Congress have had assigned them by the United States all the vacant lands without the bounds of each, amounting to above two hundred millions of acres.

Such are the productions, extent, and prosperous state of the American provinces, originally established at a vast expence of people and treasure to Britain: And the situation of this extensive country, whose eastern shores are washed by the great Atlantic ocean, enables her to carry on a direct commerce with Europe, Africa and India.

Owing to her extent and situation, her various climates, soils and productions, her fisheries, those inexhaustible mines of riches, her large and numerous navigable rivers, her system of government founded on liberty, and her commerce, no longer under the controul of Britain, America must sooner or later be one of the most powerful empires in the world. Be this as it may, the United States seem, at present, to study their interest, by observing a strict neutrality with regard to the belligerent powers of Europe; and by turning their chief attention to agriculture and manufactures, the most certain mode of increasing their population and wealth. But the time,

in all probability, is not far distant, when, possessed of an extensive commerce, a numerous population, and a formidable naval and military force, they will exert their united strength to expel the maritime powers of Europe, exhausted by a series of destructive wars, not only from the American continent, but from the West India islands, those sources of their revenues, and graves of their subjects.

Of the advantages of the West India commerce to Britain and France, the following estimate will furnish accurate information :

The value of the productions of the West India islands annually imported into France, according to an eight years average, ending with 1790, amounted to 7,343,108. The amount of the productions of the British West India islands, which were imported, during the same period, was only 5,382,827.* Hence it is apparent, that the French sugar islands are about two fifths more productive than the British.

It is, however, a question, Whether the commerce of those islands compensates the charge of civil governments, the loss of people, and the expence of defending them? It is probable, that, had the millions of productive capital which were withdrawn from the agriculture, manufactures, and trade of Great Bri-

* The value of the British manufactures annually exported to the West Indies, on an average of six years, ending with 1792, amounted to 1,845,962l.

tain, to cultivate its West India islands, been expended on the internal improvement of the kingdom, its wealth and population would have been greatly increased, and more useful territory added to the Empire, than has been gained by war since the Revolution.

In acquiring distant dominions, through conquest, the State is enfeebled by the diminution of its people, by the charge of their establishments in peace, and still more by the enormous debts incurred in war, for their defence. In gaining additional lands, by reclaiming the wild, improving the barren, and appropriating the common, we at once extend the limits of our island, make its soil more productive, and consequently encrease its inhabitants, who are its best customers and chief supporters.

But, on account of the revenue which the Crown derives from its West India islands, they are become valuable appendages of the empire; and, owing to their patronage, the most insignificant and unproductive are generally ceded with reluctance.

CHAP. IV.

STATE OF FRANCE.

CARDINAL RICHLIEU observes, "That Nature seems to have offered the empire of the sea to France, by the advantageous situation of her coasts, equally provided with excellent havens on the ocean: Provence, which is but one hundred and sixty miles in extent, has many larger and safer than Spain and Italy together." Whatever be in this, it must be admitted, that the internal resources of France are far superior to those of any other nation in Europe.

Prior to the late Revolution, France contained 140,000 square miles, and twenty six millions of inhabitants, with a revenue of twenty four millions Sterling, and upwards of 90,000,000*l.* Sterling of gold and silver circulating in the nation.

By her advantageous situation, extent and population, the fertility of her soil, the genius of her inhabitants for certain manufactures, and her navigable rivers and canals, France is always possessed of a great inland and neigh-

bouring trade, which must prove an inexhaustible source of wealth and power.

Her foreign commerce extends to every part of the globe. In the West Indies she possesses several important islands, particularly the fertile and extensive island of Hispaniola. Her ports in the Channel, and on the Western Ocean, are frequented by all the trading nations in Europe. Her commerce with Italy and Africa is very considerable; and her trade to Turkey is superior to that of any other European nation.

But her unparalleled efforts and successes, during the present war, must have reduced her finances to the lowest ebb, diminished her population, crushed her industry and commerce, and reduced the great body of her people to poverty. Peace is, therefore, become indispensibly necessary to France, in order to re-establish her marine, and restore her commerce, population, and revenues.

This inestimable blessing is likewise necessary to Great Britain, weakened by her wars, and her numerous and expensive colonies and conquests. Peace, together with the industry of the people, and the economy of their rulers, must prove the salvation of the empire. It would be the only means of reducing the expences of the government, and affording relief to a brave, loyal, and industrious people, crouching under an enormous load of taxes. It would enable them to improve and extend the manufactures, commerce, and cultivation of the kingdom, and thereby increase

its revenue and population, the real and permanent strength of nations ; and once more render our island the seat of industry, power, and wealth.

Peace, and a defensive treaty between Great Britain, France, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, are, in my opinion, become absolutely necessary, in order to put a stop to the ravages of war ; and fix the general tranquillity of Europe on a lasting basis. *

No country ever had such a race of tyrants as France, and, till within these few years, there was not a Briton who did not wish this tyranny to be extirpated from the earth. The restless and cruel ambition of the kings of France and their court, has, within the present century, occasioned the slaughter of unnumbered thousands of our friends and countrymen, and contributed towards loading us with a debt, the consequences of which cannot be calculated. Not the people of France, let us remember, but their despots, against whose oppressions they have lately risen up, have been the authors of all those evils ; and as long as the old system remained, there

* As it would be absurd to entertain the idea, that the British Ministry will ever, after the present war, send troops or treasure to the Continent, the confederate powers, when attacked, must be supported by our navy : For I must ever think, that defensive wars alone are justifiable.

was no hope of remedy. How happy, therefore, would it have been for the surrounding nations, particularly the British, if the people of France had been permitted to settle their new Constitution, which promised peace and security to all their neighbours, as well as themselves ! But, for the interference of foreign courts, all would now have been peace ; and, instead of incurring a debt of almost two hundred millions, and sustaining a loss of several hundred thousands of our best troops ; our agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, would have been considerably extended, and our finances vastly improved.

Far be it from me to attempt to justify the many atrocious deeds committed by the French ; but I must think that their great leading principles were good ; and that they have a right to legislate for themselves, and choose what system of government they please, uncontrouled by any other power on earth.

Great Britain and France have long been rivals ; they are both ambitious and powerful nations, and, if not joined in an alliance, it is to be apprehended that the tranquillity of Europe will not be lasting *. But it is presumed, that the proposed league would effec-

* An eminent patriot, in the House of Lords, very justly asserted, " That it would be our interest to cultivate the friendship of France ; and that an alliance between Great Britain and that great and free state, would be so powerful, that nothing could stand against it."

tually tend to promote the interests of every party concerned, by maintaining peace, and curbing the ambition of the Emperors of Germany and Russia, whose predecessors have, without the least provocation, stripped his Polish Majesty both of his crown and kingdom.*

Should the great politicians, the leaders of the rival parties, which, at present, divide the kingdom, deign to peruse these tracts, and condemn the proposed league for maintaining the political equilibrium of Europe, it is a consolation to the writer, that it will only share a similar fate to three-fourths of the treaties con-

* When the king of Poland was forced to sign the act by which he abdicated his sovereignty, he was in the utmost despair. He tore his hair, and at first absolutely refused to sign the act of abdication, which was presented to him by the Russian minister Prince Repnin. He said that his fate was even more wretched than that of Lewis the XVI. But on Prince Repnin's stating to him, that, in case of a refusal, his Majesty would be arrested, and his property confiscated, he at last signed the act. What an affecting picture of the unhappy state of mind and suffering of the unfortunate Stanislaus ! Thus we see, in the fate of Poland, that reason and justice, which should govern the world, must often yield to power and lawless might.

Though our ministry, at the conclusion of the late war between Russia and Turkey, seemed to be greatly alarmed at the ambition of the Empress, and were on the eve of involving their country in a war, for the cession of the fortress of Oczakow ; yet they permitted the Czarina, together with her allies, not only to strip the old king of Poland of his Crown, but to add the greatest part of his extensive kingdom to her overgrown empire, without making a single remonstrance.

cluded by our rulers within the present century.

But, whatever alliances our ministry may think proper to form, it is probable, that the establishment of the French Government upon the principles of liberty, their alliance with Spain, and perhaps with Belgium and Holland, which they may deem necessary, in order to check the ambition of the partitioning powers, and thereby preserve the political balance of Europe, will render France a more formidable nation than ever. Let us, therefore, cherish peace, which, next to liberty, is our chiefest good ; by which we will make ourselves formidable, and secure an honourable continuance of national tranquillity. We ought not to grasp at power, in order to renew hostilities, and extend our conquests, but that, by means of it, we should add weight and dignity to the moderation of our councils : not exciting envy, but extorting praise, by proving to the world, “ that we are not more disposed to offer an injury, than to endure one.”

CHAP. V.

STATE OF RUSSIA.

THE Russian empire, exclusive of its Polish territories, contains 3,969,705 square miles; and is of a greater extent than both the Roman and Persian empires in the zenith of their power*. It comprehends a great part of Tartary, including the whole of Europe and Asia, from the northern coasts of the Baltic sea, to the eastern extremity of the Asiatic continent. On the north it extends from the frozen ocean to lat. 47. n. being bounded on the south by Poland, little Tartary, Turkey, the Euxine sea, great Tartary, and Chinese Tartary, &c.

In this vast empire there is a great diversity of soil, as well as climate. The southern provinces are very fertile; the northern abound with many extensive forests; and contain rich mines of silver and copper, and whole mountains of rich iron ore.

Square miles.

* The Persian empire, under Darius, contained	1,630,000
The Roman empire, in its utmost height, -	1,610,000
The United States of America, -	1,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland, scarcely -	110,000

Owing to its situation, extent, the number of large navigable rivers, which intersect it, and the canals made by Peter the Great, it is admirably adapted to internal, as well as foreign trade. By means of the Wolga, the largest river in Europe, which traverses the greater part of Russia, winding a course of 3000 English miles, the city of Moscow preserves a communication, not only with all the southern parts of the empire, but with Georgia, Persia, Tartary, and other countries bordering on the Caspian sea. The trade is carried on with Persia across the Caspian sea, by the way of Astrucan; and overland, by caravans, to China, and to the various ports of Tartary. And, for the convenience of merchants, an annual fair is held at the once celebrated city of Samarcand.

Russia contains no fewer than sixteen ports, but *Petersburgh* is the grand emporium of her foreign commerce; which is much increased since her conquests of Livonia and Ingria from Sweden; and, since the establishment of this port, her naval intercourse with Europe is made much more short and easy.

By the latest accounts, it appears, that the annual exports of Russia exceed her imports by a no less sum than two hundred and twenty five thousand pounds sterling*.

* Her exports to Great Britain are estimated at one million and a half, and her imports at three hundred thousand pounds; yet the articles exported, consisting of pearl

Before the days of Peter the Great, the Russians lived in a state of savage barbarity, they were almost entirely ignorant of agriculture, and had an universal and absolute contempt for learning of all kinds : That Prince endeavoured, by every possible means, to introduce learning, ship-building, and several other useful branches of manufactures among them. He founded three colleges at Muscow ; one for classical learning and natural philosophy ; another for mathematics ; and the third for astronomy and navigation. A dispensary was likewise instituted by the same monarch, from whence not only the army, but the whole empire, is supplied with medicines. An university was also founded by the Empress Elisabeth, daughter to Peter the Great. Another has been founded at Petersburg, by the present Empress, to which she has invited foreigners, the most celebrated for their proficiency in the various sciences. To these we must add the military academy, where the youth of the nobility, and sons of officers, are instructed in every thing relative to the art of war. In fine, it appears that the Russians, in the course of the present century, have made great progress in arts and sciences, as well as in military and naval tactics.

and pot ashes, hemp, iron, tallow, &c. &c. of which our manufactured goods frequently produce from four to six times the value of the raw materials, the trade is advantageous to this island.

The revenue of this empire is estimated at six millions sterling, which, owing to the high value of money in this country, and consequently the low price of provisions and manufactures, is far from being inconsiderable.

Its inhabitants are computed at twenty millions, a scanty population for so extensive an empire. But as population generally keeps pace with plenty, there can be no doubt that it will soon be greatly increased, by the vast exertions now making for promoting industry, extending commerce, and improving agriculture.

The military force of the Russians, exclusive of the Cossacs and Tartars, amounts to 350,000 men; but so great is the extent of their territories, and the number of the fortresses which they have to support, from Petersburg to the borders of China, that it is with difficulty they can bring 150,000 into the field, to act offensively against an enemy. The common soldiers are bold and steady; and, were they commanded by able generals, they would be equal to the best troops in Europe.

Their navy consists of sixty ships of the line, and forty frigates; besides about 150 row-gallies, which they formerly used upon the lakes against the Swedes, and which are still useful in many parts of the Baltic, where it would be dangerous for large ships to enter.

The canal and large bason of Cronstadt, will contain near six hundred sail of the line.

Such are the resources, and vast extent of the Russian empire, whose sovereigns have, during the space of little more than a century, extended their dominions to the Baltic on the West, and to the Ocean in the East, and made several important acquisitions in Turkey *. They have lately partitioned the fertile, populous, and extensive kingdom of Poland ; as well as threatened the total subversion of the Turkish empire ; and would, but for the death of the Empress Elisabeth, and the unforeseen caprice of her successor, Peter the Third, have annihilated the very name of the Prussian power.

* Russia, assisted by Britain in her naval operations during the war with the Turks, which commenced in 1770. was raised to the highest pitch of glory : a measure, in my opinion, inconsistent with the true policy of Britain ; and for which Russia did not make a very grateful return.

CHAP. VI.

STATE OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

THE dominions of the Grand Signior are very extensive, they comprehend a very considerable part of the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa ; and are supposed to contain about a million of square miles.

Turkey in Europe, comprehending Greece, Macedon, and several other kingdoms, celebrated in antiquity, lies between 36 and 49 degrees of north latitude, and 16 and 40 of east longitude ; being about a thousand miles in length, and eight hundred in breadth ; bounded by Russia, Poland, and Sclavonia, on the north ; by Circassia, the Black Sea, the Propontis, Hellespont, and Archipelago, on the east ; by the Mediterranean on the south ; and by the Venetian and Austrian territories on the West.

Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, and capital of the Empire, notwithstanding all that it has suffered from the desolating hands of Barbarians, is still deservedly accounted one of the finest cities, and possesses the most capacious harbour, in Europe.

This metropolis is situated on the European side of the Bosphorus, a narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia, and communicates on the south with the Mediterranean sea, thereby opening a passage to all the European nations, as well as to the coasts of Asia Minor, Syria, Judea, Egypt, Africa, and the numerous and fertile islands scattered through the Levant sea. The same strait, communicating northwards with the Black Sea, opens a passage, by means of the Danube, and other great navigable rivers, into the interior parts of Germany, Poland, and Russia. Hence it is evident, that Turkey in Europe, of all other countries, had the best claim to be mistress of the world ; and may again be the seat of Empire, as well as of commerce.

Owing to the situation of Egypt, the Turks command the navigation of the Red Sea, which opens a communication to the Southern Ocean, and presents them with all the riches of the Indies.

Turkey in Europe contains a variety of all sorts of mines, and its marbles are esteemed the finest in the world. The soil, though unimproved, is luxuriant beyond description ; and the seasons are regular and pleasant. It produces corn, cotton, wine, and fruit of every kind, in great abundance and perfection.

Turkey in Asia, which contains the most fertile provinces of the western part of that continent, produces all the luxuries of life in the

utmost abundance, and all the commodities necessary for the largest plan of industry and commerce.

Notwithstanding the productions, and the happy situation of this empire for foreign commerce, yet trade and manufactures are little attended to. The nature of the Turkish government destroys that happy security which is the mother of arts, industry, and commerce; and such is the debasement of the human mind, when borne down by slavery and oppression, that all the great advantages of commerce which the inhabitants possess, are here totally neglected. The advantages of Tyre, Sidon, Alexandria, and all those countries which carried on the commerce of the ancient world, are overlooked.

The Turks content themselves with manufacturing cottons, carpets, leather, and soap. The internal trade of the Empire is extremely small, and managed entirely by Jews and Arminians. In their commerce with Europe they are altogether passive. The English, French, Dutch, and other Europeans, resort hither with their commodities, and bring back those of Turkey in the same bottoms. They seldom attempt any distant voyages, and are only possessed of a few vessels on the Asiatic coasts, their royal navy lying on the side of Europe, from whence they have every thing to fear.

The population of this empire, which has been celebrated from the remotest ages of antiquity for the luxuriancy of the soil, and the

regularity and pleasantness of the season, is not equal to its extent and fertility. It is supposed to contain no more than thirty five millions of inhabitants, a scanty population for so extensive and fertile an empire. This is owing to various causes; to the tyranny under which the natives live; to their polygamy, which is undoubtedly an enemy to population; to the plague, which is chiefly occasioned by their indolence and superstitious belief in predestination, and to the wretched state of their commerce and agriculture.

The revenue of the Turkish empire in Europe, is estimated at five millions, and that of Egypt at one million Sterling; but the greater part of the last sum is expended in that country. These, together with its Asiatic revenues, which are not known, but must be immense, arise from the customs, and a variety of taxes which fall chiefly on the Christians, and other subjects not of the Mahometan religion. Such as are rich pay a capitation tax of thirty shillings annually; those of an inferior class fifteen shillings; and common labourers seven shillings. The annual tribute paid by the Tartars, and other nations bordering upon Turkey, but governed by their own princes and laws, form another branch; but the greatest part arises from the vast sums extorted from the governors of provinces and officers of State, under the name of presents.

This empire is defended, and its frontier provinces and tributary princes kept in subjection, by a small navy and a large army, a-

mounting to upwards of 300,000 horse and foot. The greater part of these are horse, and are considered as militia, having certain lands appointed for their maintenance. The forces who receive their pay from the treasury, are called spahis, or horse-guards; and the janizaries, or foot guards, are the best troops in the Turkish service. Besides these, there are a great number of auxiliaries from different nations, particularly Wallachia, Moldavia, Tartary, and, till lately, Georgia and Crim Tartary.

Such are the power and resources of the Ottoman empire, which, when compared with its extent and fertility, are very inconsiderable. And the indolence, poverty, and oppression of its subjects, together with the burden of defending, and keeping in subjection the frontier provinces, and tributary princes, render its power still more inconsiderable.

The tributary princes contribute but little towards the defence of the empire; they frequently rebel, and involve the Sultans in war with their neighbours. The Khan of the Crim Tartars was obliged to furnish 100,000 men, whom he was to lead in person; but the loss of this peninsula, which was lately annexed to the empire of Russia, must be looked upon to be very considerable to the Grand Signior, as throwing such a vast power into the hands of his natural enemies the Russians.

The Persians are formidable, as well as troublesome, neighbours.

The Arabs not only invade Egypt and Judea, carrying herds and flocks along with them, but frequently attack and plunder the caravans, going to and from Mecca, though escorted by Turkish armies*.

When the writer of these sheets was in Judea, the Turks and Arabs were at war; their armies, which consisted of cavalry, were encamped about midway between Ptolemais and Jerusalem; a circumstance which deprived him of the pleasure of visiting that city, once the capital of the kingdom of Israel. Having had the pleasure of travelling through a part of Asia, Syria, Palestine and Judea, as well as Turkey in Europe, Greece and Italy, he cannot avoid reflecting on the instability of all worldly grandeur. Babylon, once the seat of despotism, luxury, wealth and wickedness, the ancient and mighty capital of the Assyrian empire, which first gave birth to learning and the sciences, is now no more. The once proud and impious city of Nineveh lies in ruins. Tyre, once the queen of commerce, and mistress of the sea, is now only inhabited by a few miserable fishermen, who live in the ruins of its ancient grandeur. Devouring time has changed the face of the earth, in Phœnicia, as well as fulfilled the predictions of the prophets; the mountains of Libanus and Antelibanus, once so famous for their cedars, scarcely produce a single tree. The hilly country of Judea, once so fertile and populous, is at present one of the most despicable of any in Asia. It is almost desolate; half the land in the vallies lye uncultivated. The ancient provinces of Lydia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Pontus, in the Lesser Asia, once the most populous, fertile, and delicious countries in the world, and all of them celebrated in the Greek and Roman history, are now, through the Turkish insolence and tyranny, either forsaken, or a theatre of ruins. The ancient city of Troy, Priam's proud capital, can scarcely be distinguished by the smallest vestige. The Greeks, once the greatest and freest

This empire is weakened by the sovereignty of Egypt, which is no more than nominal, and has for some time past been in a state of perfect anarchy. The power, as well as the military force of the Turks in this country, are almost entirely annihilated ; and no foreign invasion by an enemy of any force, could be resisted.

The *Greeks*, once the freest and greatest people in the world, now reduced to beggary and slavery under their tyrannical masters, are ready to revolt, and join the first powerful invader.

The Janizaries, proud and turbulent, frequently depose and put their sovereigns to death ; and raise a creature of their own to the imperial dignity.

From this state of the Turkish empire, its unsuccessful wars, and inglorious treaties, during the present century, it is evident that it is on the decline. The Turks are no longer that hardy race of adventurers, whose banners carried terror and victory from the deserts of Scythia, through Asia, Persia, Judea, Africa, and to the gates of Vienna. They have fallen a prey to a warm climate, a luxuriant soil, and that mode of living which seldom fails to enervate the human frame.

people on the earth, are now become the most contemptible and abject slaves that ever existed. *Sic transit gloria mundi !*

On the other hand, the Russians, just emerging from obscurity, emulous to rival the European nations in arts, in commerce, and in warlike exercises; equally desirous to add the other provinces to an empire already too powerful; have not only threatened the entire destruction of the Prussian power, but the total subversion of the Turkish empire in Europe.

Hence the propriety of a league between the Grand Signior, France, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark, in order to maintain the tranquillity of Europe, and check the ambition of Russia and Austria.

A respectable author observes, "That, should the Russians, whose empire already extends to the Baltic, become masters of Turkey, all the powers of Europe could not prevent their fleets from encircling this quarter of the globe, and to all Europe they might bid defiance. This event, which may happen, would not only destroy the balance of power, established at the expence of so much blood and treasure, but endanger the commerce of Great Britain and France, particularly that to the Mediterranean."

In support of this author's opinion, I refer the reader to Lord Grenville's reasons for a war with Russia, relative to the cession of Ocza-kow. This noble lord asserted, "That the Russian trade, and every other commerce in the Baltic and in the Mediterranean, would be endangered by the power of Russia, which,

if not checked in its career, bid fair to have both those immense sources of traffic at her command. It was not Oczakow, with the miserable country of Bessarrabia around it, that was the object ; but that fortress, and its dependencies, eventually secured the display of the Russian flag in the Archipelago and the Mediterranean, by a quicker passage than any power of Europe enjoyed. He likewise observed, that an alliance with Prussia, which was about that time concluded, would be more advantageous, as it would enable us to carry on the Russian trade by means of a connection with Poland."

In point of trade or of defence, the possession of Oczakow could not be of any importance to the Turks ; but it might be made the depot of warlike stores, which would enable them to invade the Crimea at any time they should judge expedient.

In point of policy, as well as of commerce, this fortress, situated on the banks of the Dnieper, which falls into the Black Sea, and the latter having a communication with the Mediterranean, is an important acquisition to Russia. It forms a strong barrier against the invasions of the Turks and Tartars ; and, secured from apprehension of a war with the Porte, and the depredations of the Tartars, the Emperors of Russia can afford to station a greater proportion of their military forces in

those provinces which border on Prussia, and must thence be more formidable neighbours*.

* Upon this subject Mr Pitt observed, " that the interest which this country had in not suffering the Russians to make conquests on the coast of the Black Sea, were of the utmost importance ; and still more concerned were the interests of our allies. The end of our alliance with Prussia and Holland, was to give, by their union, such strength and authority, as to be able at all times to compel other powers to abandon schemes of ambition and conquest, which may endanger the general tranquillity, and the balance in the relative situation of the Princes of Europe, so essential to the interest of this country and its allies. What security was there for Prussia, if a powerful and ambitious neighbour were suffered to establish herself upon her very frontiers ? What safety was there for Poland ? What safety for Denmark, or what for Sweden, when Prussia shall be no longer in a condition to assist them ? The Empire itself, and the safety of all Europe, may afterwards be endangered, should the same aspiring views continue to be entertained ?"

CHAP. VII.

STATE OF THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY'S DOMINIONS.

THIS Prince's territories, exclusive of his portion of Poland, contain 180,496 square miles. They are bounded on the west and north by Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg, and Poland; and, on the east and south, by Turkey in Europe, the Adriatic Sea, and the Alps.

These countries produce not only great abundance of the coarser metals, but of gold and silver also.

The soil is various, but it is, in general, fertile. Provisions are cheaper in Germany, and in the Austrian dominions, than almost in any country in the world. It is generally believed, that if agriculture had been known sooner to the inhabitants in any tolerable degree, these countries would have been, by this time, the most fruitful in Europe. The prodigious armies which they have maintained, and the devastations they have often endured, for a great number of years together, are so many undeniable evidences of their extreme fertility.

A late writer observes, " that Austria, and the hereditary dominions of that house, are by nature so well furnished with all the materials for the luxuries, the conveniencies, and necessities of life, that foreign importations are almost totally prohibited.

VIENNA, the capital of the circle of Austria, and of the German Empire, is a large, populous, and well-fortified city, situated on the south side of the Danube, one of the finest rivers in Europe. Here are magazines of naval stores, and ships of war are fitted out to serve against the Turks; the river being so broad between Vienna and Belegarde, that fleets have engaged upon it.

The conveniency of the Danube for carriage to the many countries through which it passes, is inconceivable. By means of this noble river, whose course is not less than 1600 miles, Vienna has, in some measure, the advantages of a maritime situation. The Danube supplies it amply with fish of various kinds, some of which are supposed to come from the Black Sea. Venice supplies it with oysters, and other salted and pickled fish, as well as with oranges, and other fruits which grow in Italy. Hungary, and the provinces on the frontiers of Turkey, send it wine, oxen and sheep.

The revenues of the House of Austria are, by Zimmermann, estimated at one hundred and twelve millions of florins, which, at 2 s. and 3 d. each, is 12,600,000 l. Sterling, a large

revenue in countries where the value of money is high, and consequently the price of provisions and manufactures low.

The debt of the Austrian monarchy, before the present contest, did not exceed two hundred and fifty millions of florins.

In 1770, the public expenditure amounted to only eighty three millions and a half, while the revenue surpassed it by six clear millions, which remained in the treasury after all disbursements. The deficit is now enormous; the debts are increased to a terrifying magnitude; and the government paper is so much depreciated, that a sinking fund for its purchase has been lately established, in order to enhance its value.

The population of the Austrian dominions, exclusive of the territory lately ceded by the Turks, and the Emperor's share of Poland, is, by the same author, estimated at 19,611,000. His acquisitions in Poland are far superior to the Netherlands, provided the latter be not restored at the conclusion of the war*.

In the year 1783, the forces of the Emperor amounted to two hundred and eighty thou-

* The Rhine and the Var are the natural, and should be the real, boundaries of France. And, as the late king of Sardinia was dragged into the war, it is incumbent on the confederate powers to preserve his dominions entire. Besides, it is the Emperor's interest to cede the Netherlands (which have been too long a field of battle to Europeans) rather than permit the French to retain Piedmont; as the possession of this province would enable them to invade Lombardy at pleasure.

sand. Since that period, they must have been considerably augmented. But death, desertion, and defeat, have lately thinned their ranks, which, when military exertions depend on numbers and discipline alone, is irreparable. The Austrian troops were considered as a pattern for all Europe to copy; and their generals were also eminently famous; but they have lately, after many gallant efforts to sustain their reputation, been often obliged to yield to the superior conduct and valour of the French.

The remote provinces, as well as the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, not only contribute very liberally to the Austrian revenue, but to the support of that house, by the number and bravery of their inhabitants.

The *Bohemians* value themselves on being descended from ancestors, who distinguished themselves as the most intrepid assertors of civil and religious liberty in Europe, by the early introduction of the reformed religion into their country, by the many glorious victories obtained over the Austrians, and by their long and glorious struggles to maintain their independency.

The ancient inhabitants of *Hungary*, formerly one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, formed the bulwark of Christendom against the Infidels; and the fidelity of their descendants to the late Empress Queen, during her distress, notwithstanding the provoca-

tions they received from her house, will be always remembered to their honour.

The ancient *Transylvanians*, *Sclavonians*, and *Croatians*, distinguished themselves by the gallant resistance they made against the Roman arms. Their descendants still retain the martial spirit of their ancestors: It is well known that they preserved the crown in the Imperial family, by preventing the Pragmatic sanction from being broken through.

Such are the extent and resources of the Emperor's dominions, which, with the addition of 100,000 square miles in the fertile kingdom of Poland, must render that prince very powerful; but the loss of the extensive and fertile province of Silesia, will make him the irreconcilable enemy of Prussia.

*Of the EMPEROR'S Power, as HEAD of the EM-
PIRE.*

THE Germans were originally the freest, as well as the bravest, people in Europe. In Cæsar's time, the country was divided into a number of independent states, where the assent of the people, in the promulgation of laws, was essentially requisite to give them validity. The states, though independent of each other, were occasionally connected by a military union, for defending themselves against such enemies as threatened the general tranquillity. In this situation Germany remained, notwithstanding the efforts of particular chieftains to

reduce the rest into subjection, until Charlemaigne, in the beginning of the ninth century, first extended his military power, and afterwards his civil authority, over the whole of this empire.

Under Charlemaigne, and his posterity, the Imperial throne was hereditary ; but, on the fall of that prince's empire (880) all the princes, the nobility, and the magistrates of the principal cities, renounced the authority of any superior whatever ; and assumed the sovereignty in their own territories, as well as the right of electing the Emperors. But, in the reign of Otho the Third (984,) the principal officers of the Emperor's household, his chamberlain, secretary, treasurer, marshal, master of the horse, &c. acquired the sole right of election.

Though the dignity of the empire be elective, (the right of election being vested in three ecclesiastical, and six secular princes,) yet the Archdukes of Austria, being the most powerful of the German princes, have possessed the Imperial throne since the year 1440.

Rodolph of Hapsbourgh, a petty count on the borders of the Black Forest, was the founder of this family in the 13th century. It was to his insignificance that he was indebted for his elevation to the Imperial throne, his territories being too inconsiderable to excite the jealousy of the German princes. As the want of power, in one age, became a qualification for sovereignty, so, by a rare instance of good fortune, the possession of immense authority, restored it

to, and perpetuated in this very house, in another. Thus, too, by a single stroke of narrow and contemptible policy, the electors, who wished only for a protector, gave themselves a master.

The marriage of the Archduke *Maximilian* with the heiress of the house of Burgundy, in 1477, not only added to the grandeur of the successors of the Count of Hapsburgh, but actually changed the face of all Europe. Charles the fifth, haughty, austere, vindictive, enterprising, and ambitious, after having been persecuted, during the greater part of his life, with the insatiable thirst of power, exchanged his imperial and royal crowns for a monk's caul, and ended his days in a convent. Spain, the Empire, Austria, Bohemia, Lombardy, the Tyrol, the two Sicilies, the Low Countries, including Holland and Flanders, in the old world; and Mexico and Peru, in the new, appertained, at this period, to the House of Austria: a great power, that seemed to rattle the chains of universal dominion over the heads of the pigmy states that surrounded it.

But, notwithstanding those territories were divided between his son Philip, and his brother Ferdinand, who was raised to the Imperial dignity, the Austrian dominions are still extensive and formidable; and the Court of Vienna has been long considered as one of the preponderating powers of Europe.

The supreme power in Germany is lodged in the Diet, which is composed of the Emperor, and of the three Colleges of the Empire. The Emperor's power, in this assembly, is not

directorial, but executive ; and even that gives him vast influence.

He can confer honours, create princes, enfranchise cities ; but, as Emperor, he can levy no taxes, nor make war or peace without the consent of the Diet. When that consent is obtained, every Prince must contribute his quota of men and money, as valued in the matriculation roll, though, as an Elector, or Prince, he may espouse a different side from that of the Diet.

The Imperial Chamber, and that of Vienna, commonly called the Aulic Council, are the two supreme courts for determining the great causes arising between the respective members of the Empire. In both these courts, the Emperor, as sovereign judge and president, pronounces sentence when there in person ; and, in his absence, those deputed by him ; consequently, he is master of both courts.

Thus, as head of the Empire, the power of the House of Austria is vastly increased : A house, which has not, since the capture of Richard the I., been conspicuous for good faith towards Britain *. Its late treaty with Russia,

* With regard to its conduct during the present war, I shall quote the authority of the Duke of Richmond, and Mr Fox. The former said, that the Austrian army could not be prevailed on to stop, but for twenty-four hours, to assist in saving the baggage and provisions of the English troops, in their retreat from Holland. Mr Fox requested Mr Pitt to give some account of the conduct of the Austrians before Tournay, before the House voted such

and hostile dispositions towards the French Republic, induced his Prussian Majesty to enter into an alliance with France, his most powerful and natural ally.

Had the Great Ferderick, that consummate general and statesman, lived in the present age, he would have been prepared to support the rulers of France ; by which measure, he would not only have acquired a formidable ally, but preserved the tranquillity of Europe.

an enormous sum of money to the Emperor : Ought he not to assign some reason for their precipitate evacuation of the Netherlands, and that, too, against every remonstrance of the commander in chief of the British forces ? Was it not notorious, he said, that the Duke of York was left at only thirty miles distance, to judge of the Austrians intentions by speculations on their movements, as he might have done of the intentions of the enemy. What was the case at Toulon ? Five thousand Austrian troops were to sail from Leghorn, to reinforce the garrison, but when these troops came to the place of embarkation, the commanding officer said, he had orders not to embark until he received farther directions from Vienna. The reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said, that it would be improper to enquire too minutely into the conduct of our allies, was a tacit acknowledgment that these assertions were too well founded.

CHAP. VIII.

STATE OF PRUSSIA.

THIS country, formerly a duchy, but within this century erected into a kingdom, is bounded on the north by Samagotia; on the east by Lithuania; on the south by Poland proper and Messovia; and on the west by Poland, Prussia, and the Baltic. It extends in length about 160 miles, and 120 in breadth. But the whole of his Prussian Majesty's territories, which lie scattered in different countries, exclusive of his late acquisitions in Poland, are of a very considerable extent, containing no less than 52,025 square miles; and between six and seven millions of inhabitants.

The air of the different provinces of this kingdom is wholesome, and the soil fruitful in grain; affording also plenty of pitcoal, and fuel of other kinds, which must greatly tend to the improvement of agriculture and manufactures.

Berlin, the capital, is situated on the banks of the Sprie, and, besides a royal palace, has many other superb palaces. Its streets and squares are spacious; its manufactures of all

kinds are numerous, and well provided ; the arsenal contains arms for no fewer than 200,000 men ; the garrison is 24,000 strong.

Koningsburg, the capital of Prussia, properly so called, is seated on the river Pregel, over which there are seven bridges. It has a good harbour and citadel ; is a large and populous city, formerly one of the Hanse towns ; and, by means of the river, which is navigable for ships, has ever made a considerable figure in commerce.

By means of the happy situation of the Prussian territories, its navigable rivers, and the assistance of an excellent police, especially by a most liberal toleration in religious matters, the late king brought the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of his kingdom to a very flourishing state, which is daily improving.

The articles manufactured by the Prussians are principally gunpowder, brass and copper mills, paper, glass, iron-work, cloth, linen, silk, gold and silver lace, stockings, &c. Great quantities of naval stores are likewise exported by the inhabitants, as well as lint-seed, hemp-seed, oatmeal, mead, tallow, caviar, and amber. *Koningsburgh* was, in the year 1755, supposed to send out 500 ships laden with these commodities annually.

During the latter part of the reign of Frederick the Great, there were in his Majesty's dominions one hundred and twenty three thou-

sand manufacturers, who not only supplied the Prussian states, but also very distant countries, with linens and woollens, such as Spain and Italy, even to China, whither their Silesian cloths were sent through Russia. They exported yearly to the amount of six millions of crowns in linens, and four millions in cloths and woollens ; which, added to the iron and hardware of the country of La Mark (about a million more,) the wood of Brandenburg and Pomerania, the corn, flax, and lumber of Prussia, and the important commerce with Poland, carried on by Koningsberg, Memel, Elbing, Dantzic, and Stetting, secured a balance of trade much in their favours. The Prussian navigation was likewise considerably extended, and its flag respected by all nations, even by the Moors. In the maritime provinces of Prussia, Pomerania, and Ostfrise, twelve hundred vessels were equipped ; which, at ten men per crew, employed and subsisted twelve thousand seamen. The national vessels had all the import and export trade of the Prussian dominions, and a considerable coasting trade, especially from Embden.

By the late king's excellent regulations, particularly by the extension and improvement of agriculture, and the consequent increase of population, his Prussian Majesty derives a large revenue from territories, which, about two centuries ago, were the seats of boors and barbarism. Amber alone, is said to yield a very considerable sum annually.

The other revenues arise from his demesnes, customs, tolls, &c., and the subsidies annually granted by the States. The sum is not precisely known; though, from the vast charges of the late wars, it must be very considerable. The revenue must have been augmented by the acquisition of Polish Prussia in the year 1772; and, providing the principal partitioning powers permit his Majesty to keep possession of his share of the kingdom of Poland, it must be still farther augmented.

The Prussian troops were, during the war which commenced in 1756, not only accounted the best in the world, but were extremely numerous, amounting, even in time of peace, to 180,000; and, during the above war, they amounted to full 300,000. The regulations of the military department, introduced by his late Majesty, are admirably calculated for forming his troops, and recruiting his armies. Every regiment has a particular district assigned it, where the young men proper for bearing arms are registered; and, when required, they join their regiment, and, being incorporated with veterans, they soon become well disciplined soldiers. Besides these regulations, he established a board for agriculture, commerce, and navigation. By his many excellent regulations, he rendered his dominions both fertile and populous; and, by the extension of territory, owing to his amazing abilities, and the bravery and discipline of his troops, the late

king acquired a vast influence in the political scale of Europe.

In many respects, he endeavoured to promote the happiness of his subjects, as well as the increase of his own power and influence. In religious matters, he granted an unlimited toleration, which contributed very much to the prosperity of the kingdom. In order to cultivate and people his dominions, Frederick assigned lands, in Little Lithuania, to 34,000 colonists, who removed from France, Germany, and Switzerland. These emigrants built 400 small villages, 11 towns, 50 new churches, and founded 100 village-schools. He likewise settled, in the different provinces of his kingdom, 12,000 families that removed from Great Poland, as well as his reduced officers and privates, at the conclusion of his wars; and lent the latter money at one and a half, and two *per cent*, to enable them to build their houses, and stock their farms.

This Prince, always attentive to the improvement of agriculture, the best means of increasing population, authorised, and encouraged with bounties, the abolition of commonage, and inclosed great tracts of land and pasture; from which proprietors will derive infinitely greater advantage, than when held in common: This difficult arrangement has been effected in many provinces, and is yearly increasing.

In order to prevent famine, in case of bad harvests, and consequently depopulation, immense magazines of corn were established in every province, for the subsistence of his army

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in time of war ; and for that of his subjects, when crops fail. By purchasing corn for the magazines, grain was kept up at a price that was tolerable to the cultivator ; and, by opening them in times of scarcity or monopoly, a medium price was always preserved in the markets.

In fine, this great hero and statesman expended above twenty two millions of crowns in draining marshes, settling colonies, establishing factories, giving bounties for all manner of rural industry, and relieving distress. He published a clear and concise code of laws for the benefit of his subjects, oppressed by the chicanery of lawyers, and the corrupt administration of justice *. He forbade, by a special

* The late Emperor of Germany published a code of criminal laws, by which he has given the world indubitable proofs of his legislative abilities, and an ardent desire to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects. Many countries have now reason to envy the Germans for the superiority of their laws in two important articles, *brevity* and *lenity*. In a small pamphlet, which would not contain a fourth of the titles of our statutes, is comprised a whole code of laws, and those laws sufficiently numerous and explicit for the internal government of any empire of any extent. But the greater excellence of these laws, is, that they are entirely destitute of that sanguinary spirit which demands blood for petty offences. He does not punish with death even for high treason ; so that if he do err, he has the consolation of erring with safety, and on the side of humanity.

The British criminal laws are undoubtedly too sanguinary ; according to the eternal principles of justice and equity, punishments should be proportioned to their

rescript, all kneeling to his person ; as this act of humiliation appeared to him too nearly to resemble the homage paid to the Divinity. Such examples are worthy of being imitated by every Sovereign in Europe.

Such are the resources, power, and policy of the Sovereigns of Prussia, which, together with the re-conquest of Silesia, of which their ancestors had been unjustly deprived, must render them the formidable rivals of the Emperors of the House of Austria ; who, prompt-

offences. A disregard to this proposition is surely productive of serious evils. " If we really believe," says a great writer, " as we profess to believe, that the Law of Moses was the Law of God, the dictate of Divine Wisdom, infinitely superior to human, on what principle do we ordain death as the punishment of an offence, which, according to that law, was only to be punished by a restitution of four-fold ? To put a man to death for an offence which does not deserve death, is it not a murder ?"

* This disproportion between crimes and punishments is a matter of serious contemplation. It is not only wicked, but impolitic. Few persons suffer on the gibbet who might not be made useful to the community. The death of the robber can afford small consolation to him that is robbed : whereas, by the labour of the malefactor, the property might, in time, be restored even four-fold ; and that labour might also be greatly conducive to the penitence of the thief.

There is, indeed, no good plea for sanguinary laws. Many of our laws were enacted in ages of barbarism and ignorance ; of course some of them are too sanguinary, as well as absurd and inconsistent ; and, therefore, it is with pleasure we hear that our Legislators seem to be determined to revise, correct, and repeal many of them.

ed by ambition and resentment, have more than once endangered the liberties of the Empire, and threatened the total annihilation of the Prussian power.

It is, therefore, the interest of the Rulers of France, the Sovereigns of Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, to unite, and form an invincible barrier against the ambitious schemes of Austria and Russia, in the north of Europe. But whatever alliances these powers may deem prudent to form, it is evident that it must be the true policy of Prussia, to be prepared to hold the balance between France and the two Imperial Courts. It is likewise evident, that, both in a political and commercial point of view, it will be the interest of Great Britain to have Prussia for an ally. By means of this alliance, we will be enabled to protect Hanover, and carry on a great trade, not only with Germany, but with Poland, to which country we export great quantities of woollen goods, manufactured tobacco, coal, hardware, lead, tin, tea, salt, &c.

It is well known, that, since the accession of George the First, our continental alliances have been solely formed for the defence of Hanover, consequently France and Prussia must be our best allies. And it is to be hoped, that the time is fast approaching, when not only a general peace, but a defensive treaty will be concluded between Great Britain, France, and Prussia, as the only means of preserving the tranquillity of Europe.

CHAP. IX.

STATE AND INTERESTS OF SWEDEN AND DEN-
MARK.

THE kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, including their German dominions, are very extensive, containing no fewer than 329,000 square miles. They lie between 54 and 71 degrees of north latitude; and are bounded by Russian Lapland and the Baltic, on the east and south; by the British and northern sea on the west; and by the Frozen ocean on the north.

The situation of these kingdoms renders the greater part of the soil barren, cold, and mountainous. Those parts that are cultivated produce wheat, rye, oats, pease and beans, but scarce so much as maintains the inhabitants; the deficiency is supplied from Poland and Livonia.

Their wealth and commerce chiefly arise from their mines of silver, copper, lead and iron, and, from their forests, lakes, and fisheries.

Denmark and *Sweden* contain some of the richest silver and iron mines in Europe. Their productions and exports chiefly consist of the bulky and useful commodities of masts, beams, deal-boards, pitch, tar, pot-ash, hides, flax, hemp, furs, copper, lead, iron, cordage, black-cattle, horses, train-oil, and fish. Owing to their trade and fisheries, the Danes and Norwegians may be ranked as a commercial and maritime people. They are excellent seamen; and their harbours are well situated for the reception of ships of every size. They carry on a very considerable trade to Africa, the East and West Indies, where they have settlements, to the Mediterranean, and the different nations of Europe.

The population of Denmark and Norway is estimated at 2,500,000, and the revenue at 1,000,000 l. Sterling; a sum which, in these countries, goes far, and maintains a splendid court, and a considerable military and naval force.

In time of war, the regular army, exclusive of militia, hath mustered 50,000 cavalry and infantry. The fleet, which is stationed at Copenhagen, where the naval stores are deposited, consists of twenty-five ships of the line, besides a proportional number of frigates and sloops. In order to man and fit out the fleet, there are 25,000 seamen registered, who are not allowed to depart the kingdom without permission from the Admiralty; 4,000 of these have constant employment and pay in the dock-yards.

Sweden is justly ranked as a naval power. Before the loss of the provinces of Ingria and Livonia, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden, the whole containing no fewer than 78,000 square miles ; the Swedish fleet consisted of 60 ships of the line ; but it is now considerably reduced. Stockholm, the capital, which carries on the chief trade of the kingdom, has a spacious and convenient harbour, large enough to hold 1000 sail of ships. The Swedes have a navigation-act like that of the English ; and are making great efforts to extend their commerce, and re-establish their marine. Formerly the land forces amounted to 60,000 men, but they are now estimated at 40,000 ; and the revenue of the kingdom at 1,300,000 l. Sterling.

The Swedes still retain the martial spirit of their ancestors. The commonalty are strong and hardy ; the nobility and gentry are brave, polite, and hospitable, high-spirited, and jealous of their honour and national interests.

Such are the military and naval power of Denmark and Sweden, which must give their sovereigns a considerable weight in maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, and checking the ambitious projects of Austria and Russia in the North. It is unquestionably the interest of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, to maintain a friendly intercourse with the great maritime powers of Europe, as, on this, the exportation of the naval stores, with which their kingdoms abound, must in a considerable

degree depend. On account of the abundance of those stores, the friendship of his Danish Majesty has been particularly courted by the Mahometan powers.

* Formerly a kind of mutual enmity subsisted between the kings of Denmark and Sweden; but, for some time past, they have promoted the interests of their kingdoms, by cultivating peace and amity with one another, and by observing a strict neutrality with regard to the neighbouring belligerent powers.

An alliance has long subsisted between Sweden and France. The friendship of Gustavus Adolphus was courted by Louis XIV. as a proper balance to the power of Austria; and the Protestants of Germany considered the Great Gustavius as the protector and asserter of their religion and liberty, oppressed by the pride and bigotry of that house.

With regard to *Russia*, that empire must be considered as the natural and dangerous enemy of Sweden and Denmark. They are not only rivals in trade, but enemies with regard to territory. Since the loss of the extensive provinces of Livonia and Ingria, conquered by Peter the Great, the power as well as the

* As the Dutch have almost lost their importance in the political scale of Europe, and will in all probability be henceforth governed by France, an alliance with these maritime powers is become absolutely necessary to Britain. It would not only afford us naval stores, but give security to our commerce in the Baltic and Northern Seas.

revenue of Sweden, have been greatly reduced: And the duchy of Holstein, in Lower Saxony, though possessed by Denmark, is claimed by Russia. It would, therefore, be impolitic in the sovereigns of Denmark and Sweden, to enter into alliances with Russia against the Prussians, the Germanic States, or the Turks. The latter, indeed, seems to be the only power capable of holding the balance against that overgrown empire; and the late king of Sweden seemed to study his true interest, by taking the part of Turkey against the Empress Catherine.

If the possession of the fortress of Oczakow by the Russians, were to endanger the liberties of this quarter of the globe, the fate of the unhappy kingdom of Poland ought to alarm every Prince and State in Europe. The next victim to the ambition and resentment of the Imperial Courts may be the kingdom of Prussia, which lies as a barrier to the States of the Empire, and the German territories of Denmark and Sweden. The troops and revenue of Prussia, together with those of Poland, the granary of Europe, would enable them to turn their arms to the south, and reduce the Imperial city of Constantinople, extirpate the Turks from their European dominions, and engross a considerable part of the Mediterranean commerce, which would not only diminish the sources of our power and wealth, but entirely derange that political equilibrium

which has been so much talked of, and seems to be so little understood. *

* The importance of our Mediterranean commerce will appear from the following estimate. In the year 1792, the value of our manufactures exported to Italy and Turkey amounted to 800,000 l., and our imports were very considerable.

The preceding part of the manuscript copy of this Treatise having been ready for the press before the preliminaries of peace between the Emperor and the French Republic were signed, the writer could not foresee that Buonaparte would have marched to the gates of Vienna, and dictated a peace to the head of the Empire. Being early apprized of the designs of the French, the Emperor, it is presumed, ought to have concentrated his force for the defence of his capital; placed himself at the head of his troops, and either conquered valiantly, or fallen gloriously, in discharging a duty which he owed to his allies, as well as his subjects.

The consequences of a victory would probably have been the evacuation of Lombardy by the French, their retreat across the Var, and that river the boundary of the Republic, as it was of the Monarchy of France. Whereas the effects of the Emperor's injudicious conduct have been,—the loss of Lombardy, the great Revolutions in Italy, and, in all probability, the terms of the approaching peace imposed by France.

But whatever may be the consequences of the great events which have lately happened on the Continent, it evidently appears, that the Supreme Being hath conducted the French generals, and made them the instruments of granting liberty to millions of his creatures, groaning under the yoke of their tyrannical masters: May they be grateful for so inestimable a blessing! And may the Rulers of the great nations of Europe, animated with the love of liberty, justice, and peace, redress every grievance of their people; and lay the basis of a league, sufficiently

ficiently powerful, for maintaining public tranquillity, the happiness of mankind !

The late Earl of Chatham gloried in the Revolution of America, because it would at least afford an asylum to all who wished to be free. May the systems of government, which are forming on the Continent, be established upon justice and liberty, and prove asylums to all in that quarter who wish to be free !

CHAP. X.

ADVANTAGES OF A COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

THE great historian of the age of Louis XIV. observes, " that war necessarily impoverishes the public treasury, unless the spoils of the vanquished can fill it again. Since the time of the ancient Romans, I know of no nation that has enriched itself by victories. Italy, in the sixteenth century, was opulent only by commerce.

" Holland would not have subsisted long, had she confined herself to the taking the Plate fleets of the Spaniards, and were not the East Indies the support of her power.

" England has always impoverished herself by war, even in destroying the French fleets; and commerce alone has enriched her. The Algerines, who have hardly any more than what they get by piracy, are miserably poor.

" Among the nations of Europe, war, at the end of some years, renders the conqueror near-

ly as much distressed as the conquered. It is a gulph, in which all the streams of abundance are absorbed. Ready money, that principle of all good, and all evil, raised with such difficulty in the provinces, terminates in the coffers of commissaries, contractors, stockjobbers, and farmers of the revenue, who advance the funds, and purchase, by that means, the right of plundering the nation in the name of the Sovereign. The people, then, considering the government as their enemy, conceal their wealth; and the want of circulation suffers the kingdom to decay and go to ruin."

Though these observations are no less striking than just; yet, it is an undeniable truth, that each nation, by the principles of the commercial system, has been made to look with an invidious eye upon the prosperity of all the nations with which it trades, and to consider their gain as its own loss.

Commerce, which ought naturally to be among nations, as among individuals, a bond of union and friendship, has become the most fertile source of discord and animosity.

"The capricious ambition of kings and ministers," Dr Smith observes, "has not, during the present and preceding century, been more fatal to the repose of Europe, than the impertinent jealousy of merchants and manufacturers. The violence and injustice of the rulers of mankind is an ancient evil, for which, he is afraid, the nature of human affairs can scarce admit of a remedy. But the mean rapacity,

and monopolizing spirit of merchants and manufacturers, who neither are, nor ought to be, the rulers of mankind, though it cannot, perhaps, be corrected, may very easily be prevented from disturbing the tranquillity of any body but themselves?

In every country it always is, and must be, the interest of the great body of the people, to purchase whatever they want of those who sell it the cheapest. But the interest of the merchants and manufacturers is, in this respect, directly opposite to that of the great body of the people. As it is the interest of the freemen of a corporation to prevent the rest of the inhabitants from employing any workman but themselves, so it is the interest of the merchants and manufacturers of every country, to secure to themselves the monopoly of the home-market. Hence, in Great Britain, and in most other European countries, the extraordinary duties upon almost all goods imported by alien merchants. Hence the high duties and prohibitions upon all those foreign manufactures, which can come into competition with our own. Hence, too, the extraordinary restraints upon the importation of almost all sorts of goods from those countries with which the balance of trade is supposed to be disadvantageous; that is, from those against whom national animosity happens to be most violently inflamed.

The wealth of the French nation, though dangerous in war and politics, is certainly ad-

vantageous in trade. As a rich man is likely to be a better customer to the industrious people in his neighbourhood, than a poor, so is likewise a rich nation. A nation that would enrich itself by foreign trade, is certainly most likely to do so, when its neighbours are all rich, industrious, and commercial nations. But the modern maxims of foreign commerce, by aiming at the impoverishment of all our neighbours, so far as they are capable of producing their intended effect, tend to render that very commerce insignificant and contemptible.

It is in consequence of these maxims, that the commerce between France and England has in both countries been subjected to so many discouragements and restraints. If those nations were to consider their real interest, without any mercantile jealousy, or national animosity, the commerce of France might be more advantageous to Great Britain than that of any other country, and, for the same reason, that of Great Britain to France*. France is the nearest neighbour to Great Britain. In the trade between the southern coast of England, and the northern and north-western coasts

* The following estimate of our exports to France is a convincing proof of the vast advantages of a commercial treaty with that nation. Prior to the commercial treaty, the value of our manufactures annually exported to France, on an average of six years, ending with 1774, amounted only to 87,164 l. But, on an average of six years, ending with 1792, our annual exports to that country amounted to 717,807 l.

of France, the returns might be expected, in the same manner as in the inland trade, four, five, or six times in the year. The capital, therefore, employed in this trade, could, in each of the two countries, keep in motion four, five, or six times the quantity of industry, and afford employment and subsistence to four, five, or six times the number of people, which an equal capital could do in the greater part of the other branches of foreign trade. Between the ports of France and Great Britain most remote from one another, the returns might be expected, at least, once in the year; and even this trade would so far be at least equally advantageous as the greater part of the other branches of our foreign European trade. It would be, at least, three times more advantageous than the boasted trade with our late American colonies; in which the returns were seldom made in less than three years, frequently not in less than four or five years. France, besides, is supposed to contain twenty six millions of inhabitants. The colonies were never supposed to contain above three millions: and France is a much richer country than North America; though, on account of the more unequal distribution of riches, there is much more poverty in the one country than in the other. France, therefore, would afford a market, at least, eight times more, and, on account of the superior frequency of the returns, four and twenty times more advantageous, than that which our colonies ever afforded. The trade of Great Britain would be

just as advantageous to France ; and, in proportion to the wealth, population, and proximity of the respective countries, would have the same superiority over that which France carries on with her own colonies. Such, says Dr Adam Smith, is the very great difference between that trade which the wisdom of both nations has thought proper to discourage, and that which it has favoured the most. It is, therefore, evident, that a commercial and defensive treaty between Great Britain and France would tend to their mutual interest, as well as to that of the neighbouring powers. It would be the means of preserving the tranquillity of Europe, and thereby enable them to improve and extend the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of both countries ; and consequently increase their population and revenues, the real and permanent strength of every nation.

CHAP. XI.

CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM THE CULTIVATION OF THE CROWN-LANDS.

IN the early and uncivilized ages of the ancients, the people consisted chiefly of husbandmen and shepherds; they were all warriors, and defended the state at their own expence.

The citizens of all the different states of ancient Greece served in this manner till after the second Persian war; and the people of Peloponesus, till after the Peloponesian war. The Peloponesians, Thucydides observes, generally left the field in the summer, and returned home to reap the harvest.

The *Roman people*, under their kings, and during the first ages of the Republic, served in the same manner. It was not till the siege of Veii, that they who staid at home began to contribute something towards maintaining those who went to war.

In the *European* monarchies, which were founded upon the ruins of the Roman empire, both before and some time after the establishment of the feudal law, the great lords, with all their immediate dependents, served the Crown at their own expence.

But, in a more advanced state of society, the progress of manufactures, and the improvement in the art of war, rendered it altogether impossible that they, who took the field, should maintain themselves at their own expence. After the second Persian war, accordingly, the armies of Athens, which consisted partly of citizens, and partly of foreigners, were paid at the expence of the state. From the time of the siege of Veii, the armies of Rome received pay for their service while they remained in the field.

Under the feudal governments, the military service both of the great lords, and of their immediate dependents, was, after a certain period, universally exchanged for a payment in money, which was employed to maintain those who served in their stead.

The rent of public lands was originally the principal source of the public revenue of many a great nation that was much advanced beyond the shepherd state. From the rent of the public lands, the ancient republics of Greece and Italy derived, for a long time, the greater part of that revenue which defrayed the necessary expences of the Commonwealth. The rent of the crown-lands constituted for a long time the greater part of the revenue of the ancient sovereigns of Europe.

But, as the society advanced in civilization, luxury and wealth, the expence of defending it grew gradually more and more expensive; and the rent of the crown-lands being insufficient funds for defraying the necessary ex-

pence of the state, it has been long defrayed by taxes, the people contributing a part of their own private revenue, in order, not only to make up the public revenue, but to support the dignity of the crown.

Though there are not in Europe any civilized state which derives even a considerable part of its public revenue from the rent of lands which are the property of the state; yet, in all the great monarchies of Europe, there are still many tracts of land which belong to the Crown. They are generally forests; where, after travelling several miles, one will scarce find a single tree; a mere waste and loss of country, in respect both of produce and population.

Lord Sheffield, Mr Fox, and many others, are of opinion, "that the best means of rendering the British crown-lands advantageous to the public, would be by making them private property."

Dr Adam Smith observes, "That, in every great monarchy in Europe, the sale of the crown-lands would produce a very large sum of money, which, if applied to the payment of the public debts, would deliver from mortgage a much greater revenue than any which those lands ever afforded to the Crown. In countries where lands, improved and very highly cultivated, commonly sell at thirty years purchase; the unimproved, uncultivated, and low rented crown-lands, might well be expected to sell at forty, fifty, or sixty years purchase. The Crown might immedi-

ately enjoy the revenue which this great price would redeem from mortgage ; and, in the course of a few years, it would enjoy another revenue. When the crown-lands became private property, they would, in a short time, become well improved and cultivated. The increase of their produce would increase the population of the country, by augmenting the revenue and consumption of the people. But the revenue which the Crown derives from the duties of customs and excise, would necessarily increase with the revenue and consumption of the people.

The crown-lands of Great Britain are extensive, and would be very valuable, provided they were either sold, or properly cultivated. It appears, from the reports of the Commissioners of Accounts, that the crown-lands, at the expiration of the present leases, may be expected to yield 200,000 l. a-year ; and that there had been gross mismanagement of those lands. Among many other instances, it appears, that the reversion of an estate, which was granted for nothing, was purchased for 10,000 pounds. The advocates for the sale of crown-lands, justly assert, that it would decrease the patronage of the Crown, and improve many thousand acres of waste land : But, that whatever touched on the influence and patronage of the Crown, they always found most zealously evaded.

As our ministry are not disposed to adopt any measure that would tend to diminish the influence of the Crown, and as our political

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existence depends on our navy, supported by our military virtue and public spirit, I presume to think, that those parts of the crown-lands which bear thriving oaks, ought to be inclosed, and that valuable timber preserved for the use of the navy, particularly as there are great complaints of a scarcity of old oak in the kingdom *. And, at the conclusion of the war, the uncultivated lands, which do not bear thriving oaks, should be assigned to the reduced soldiers and sailors, rent free, for a limited number of years, as a reward for their services. And, as the Crown would, in the space of half a century, receive a very considerable rent from those lands, when improved and cultivated, it is to be wished that the Sovereign will be pleased to give an order to his Treasurer to advance money to the new settlers at a very low interest, in order to enable them to build their houses, fence, and stock their farms. By adopting this plan, his Majesty would have an opportunity of extending his bounty to his poor, but brave supporters; the crown-lands would still remain the property of the Sovereign; and the population and revenue of the kingdom would, in a short time, be considerably increased.

* When we consider that 2000 large well grown oak-trees are consumed in the construction of a 74 gun ship, every Briton must feel a concern for the probable situation of the Empire at some future period.

CHAP. XII.INCREASE OF REVENUE ARISING FROM AN EQUAL
LAND-TAX.

WITH regard to the inequality of this tax, complaints are both numerous and well founded, and deserve the attention of the Legislature.

Several writers assert, that when the land-tax is nominally at four shillings in the pound, according to the best information they were able to obtain, it does not, upon an average throughout the kingdom, in reality, pay ninepence*.

In *England*, the valuation according to which the different counties were assessed to the land-tax by the fourth of William and Mary, was very unequal at its first establishment; and had it been then equal, it must have become unequal in process of time, according to the unequal degree of improvement or neglect in the cultivation of the different parts of the country. This, as well as every other tax,

* This tax, at four shillings in the pound, scarcely amounts to two millions.

ought to be imposed equally upon the fund which must finally pay them. This tax ought, therefore, to be imposed in such a manner as to vary with every variation in the real rent of the land, and to rise or fall with the improvement or declension of its cultivation.

In *China*, the principal revenue of the sovereign consists in a tenth part of the produce of all the lands in the empire.

The land-tax which was paid to the Mahometan government of Bengal, before that country fell into the hands of the English East India Company, is said to have amounted to about a fifth part of the produce.

The land-tax of ancient Egypt, the most fertile kingdom in the world, is said likewise to have amounted to a fifth part *.

In the *Venetian* territory, all the arable lands which are given in lease to farmers, are taxed at a fourth part of the rent. The leases are recorded in a public register, which is kept by the officers of revenue in each province or district. When the proprietor cultivates his own lands, they are valued according to an

* As the sovereigns of those countries were principally supported by a land-tax, they were extremely attentive to the making of good roads, and navigable canals, in order to increase, as much as possible, both the quantity and value of every part of the produce of the land, by procuring to every part of it the most extensive market which their own dominions could afford, and by permitting a free exportation to the dominions of all other princes.

equitable estimation, and he is allowed a deduction of one fifth of the tax, so that for such lands he pays only eight instead of ten *per cent.* of the supposed rent.

A land-tax of this kind is certainly more equal than the land-tax of England.

Some States, instead of the simple and obvious expedient of a register of leases, have had recourse to the laborious and expensive one of an actual survey and valuation of all the lands in the country. In the ancient dominions of the king of Prussia, the land is assessed according to an actual survey and valuation, which is reviewed and altered from time to time. According to that valuation, the lay-proprietors pay from twenty to twenty five per cent. of their revenue. Ecclesiastics from forty to forty five per cent.

The survey and valuation of Silesia was made by order of the late king ; it is said with great accuracy. According to that valuation, the lands belonging to the Bishop of Breslaw are taxed at twenty five per cent of their rent. The other revenues of the Ecclesiastics of both religions, at fifty per cent. As the revenue of the church is a great burden upon the rent of land, Frederick very judiciously taxed it much higher than that of lay-proprietors. Lands held by a noble tenure are taxed three per cent. higher than those held by a base tenure. The honours and privileges of different kinds annexed to the former, his Prussian Majesty probably imagined, would sufficiently

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compensate to the proprietor a small aggravation of the tax ; while, at the same time, the humiliating inferiority of the latter would be, in some measure, alleviated by being taxed somewhat more lightly. In other countries, the system of taxation, instead of alleviating, aggravates the inequality. In the dominions of the king of Sardinia, and in those provinces of France which are subject to what is called the real or predial taille, the tax falls altogether upon the lands held by a base tenure. Those held by a noble one are exempted.

The income of our nation is variously estimated. Lord Newhaven supposes the income of the individuals of the kingdom, including the yearly value of land, houses, public funds, and profits of trade, at one hundred millions.* Sir Francis Blake estimates the yearly value of land, houses, public funds, and profits of trade, at ninety millions†. Other writers estimate the yearly rent of land at thirty millions only.

As these estimates are very uncertain and contradictory, and as the rent of land has been continually rising since the reign of King William, though perhaps not in proportion to

* Value of land 40, houses 10, public funds 10, and profits of trade 30 millions, which, at 10 *per cent*, presupposes a trading capital of three hundred millions. A tax on the funds, of which the Dutch have long ago set us the example, would not only add considerably to the revenue, but rouse the monied men from that blind and selfish acquiescence in the measures of every administration, which has been the chief support of our war-politics.

the increased extent of our commerce and manufactures, the amount of the yearly value of land ought to be ascertained ; and the land-tax levied by an equal rate.

By such a system of taxation, an annual revenue of three millions, would be raised upon a tax of two shillings in the pound of the real rent of land, estimating it only as 30 millions *per annum* ; and, provided the stockholders were to pay their proportion, the pound rate could not exceed eighteen-pence.

Sir Francis Blake, in his scheme for the liquidation of the national debt, “ proposes, in time of war, when taxes will have a temporary revival, to levy the land-tax according to the present amount, by an equal rate, affecting not only the landholder, as now, but, in due proportion to their clear receipts, all other persons who are entitled to payments, secured upon land, or upon proprietors of land. He likewise proposes to vest the proprietors, whose estates are encumbered by mortgage, or otherwise, with a power to detain the full proportion of the yearly payment, which, by this plan, will be due from others who hold securities under them.”

It is certain, that the proprietors of land already contribute very largely to the public revenue ; and those possessed of estates, considerably encumbered, are justly entitled to this reimbursement ; while the security of the creditors ought to be considered as a compensation for their small proportion of the land-tax.

“ Sir Francis Blake proposes to transfer the public debt to the great body of the proprietors of the known and visible income of Great Britain, meaning thereby that particular income which arises from houses, land, and public funds ; the amount of which being stated at 60,000,000*l.* and the debt at 240,000,000*l.* it is obvious that the debt is equal to four years income.

“ For instance, a proprietor of 100*l.* *per annum*, would be burdened with 400*l.*, another of 500*l.* with 2000*l.*, and so on in proportion ; which, at four *per cent.*, would reduce the first to 84*l.* and the latter to 420*l.* *per annum*.

“ This debt transferred, it is proposed to make it bear interest of 4*l.* *per cent.* ; and to make the load fall as equal as possible on property in general, he proposes that all debts, whether by mortgage, bond, or otherwise secured, (tradesmen's bills excepted, not carrying interest) shall contribute in like proportion.

“ It is proposed to have the interest collected, and deposited in the Bank of England half-yearly, where dividends, as usual, will be paid, and where property of this kind may be bought, sold, or transferred, as is now the practice ; only with this difference, that it will not be subject to the present fluctuations, but will then be of a fixed value, and always at par. As to security none can surpass it,—*Landed security guaranteed by Government.* Any man, therefore, by purchasing stock to the full a-

mount of his contribution, relieves his estate in effect, his dividend in one case being equal to his disbursements in the other."

Were the rulers of mankind actuated by the spirit of peace, moderation, and justice, this respectable Baronet's plan might, perhaps, be adopted. But, while ambition, avarice, injustice, folly, and pride, continue to be the ruling passions of the princes on the continent of Europe, they will be frequently engaged in wars, in which Great Britain will, it is to be feared, be sometimes involved; these would entail upon her inhabitants new debts and new taxes, the forerunner of beggary and ruin.

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CHAP. XIII.

EFFECTS OF A COMMUTATION OF TITHES.

DR Adam Smith observes, " That the revenue of every established church is a branch of the state. The tithe is a real land-tax, which puts it out of the power of the proprietors of land to contribute so largely towards the defence of the state, as they otherwise might be able to do. The rent of land, however, is, according to some, the sole fund and, according to others, the principal fund, from which, in all great monarchies, the exigencies of the state must be ultimately supplied. The more of this fund which is given to the church, the less, it is evident, can be spared to the state. It may be laid down as a certain maxim, that, all other things being supposed equal, the richer the church, the poorer must necessarily be, either the sovereign, on the one hand, or the people, on the other; and, in all cases, the less able must the state be to defend itself."

Several Catholic, as well as Protestant, bishops deny that tithes are due by any divine

right to the Christian priesthood. They are unknown to the Greek church to this very day ; and, in the Latin church, they are pious gifts of the laity to the clergy, on condition that three dividends should be made, 1. for the support of the clergy ; 2. for the reparations of the churches ; 3. for the relief of the poor. But it is well known, that the clergy have broken the conditions of this primitive contract. They, likewise, discovered a certain magic in the number ten ; the tenth lamb, pig, &c. every animal that did not exceed the size of a calf, was consecrated to the clergy, except the tenth orphan. Pease, beans, and all kinds of garden stuff, were surveyed in the name of God and the church ; and the clergy were compared to the locusts, in the revelations, devouring all kinds of herbs that came in their way, except such as were noxious. Under various changes of creeds, the lucrative system remained unaltered.

Pope *Alexander the Third* was the first who issued excommunication for the recovery of tithes ; and ordained, that the labour of the industrious bee should contribute to the support of the Lord's anointed. He ordained, that every tenth bee should be sequestered for the use of the church. The clergy of the established religion in England and Ireland, who borrowed their pomp, splendour, and hierarchy from the church of Rome, declared, from their pulpits, that the Pope was Antichrist ; yet, in reforming the religion of Rome, they

improved upon Pope Alexander's system, and thus raised their claim, by insisting on the tithes of Agistment from a bee to a bullock. Such have been the policy of the clergy in all ages ; a policy by which the higher orders enjoy princely fortunes, live in ease and affluence, while the lower, who are, properly speaking, in the immediate service of the church, do not possess even a decent maintenance.

Dr Smith observes, " That the tithes, as it is frequently a very unequal tax upon the rent, so it is always a great discouragement both to the improvement of the landlord, and to the cultivation of the farmer. The one cannot venture to make the most important, which are generally the most expensive, improvements ; nor the other to raise the most valuable, which are generally too the most expensive, crops ; when the church, which lays out no part of the expence, is to share so very largely in the profit : And adds, if there were no tithe either in Great Britain or Ireland, the landlords could afford to pay six or seven millions additional land-tax, without being more burdened than a very great part of them are at present." Be this as it will, I may venture to say, that a commutation of tithes, which seems to be the wish of some of the most sensible clergymen of the established religion, either allotting lands in lieu of

them *, or allowing the clergy an honourable support, free from litigations and wrangles with parishioners of every description, would better suit the dignity of the clerical profession; and the advantages, which would accrue to the state, the cause of religion, and the peace of society, would be infinite. By the abolition of tithes, our barren wastes would soon be inclosed and cultivated, consequently the industry, population, and revenue of the kingdom, would be vastly increased; and in our fields we should soon find all the boasted riches of the Indies.

Sir Francis Blake, in his scheme for a reform of the church-revenues, proposes "To abolish that hateful practice of tithing, which has done more harm to the cause of religion, than all the immorality of the world put together." For this purpose, he proposes, that every proprietor of land should purchase the tithes of his estate, by a fair valuation of their worth, at thirty years purchase; not, however, by an actual payment of the principal sum, but by subjecting the property to the regular discharge of interest thereon, at the rate of 4 *per cent.*

* It is admitted, that one seventh-part of the whole landed-property of England is swallowed up by the clergy; and where land has been given in commutation for tithes, one seventh-part has been assigned them.

He observes, that the revenue of the church is computed at two millions and a half; and the duty is performed for the most part by curates, whose stipends are largely rated at fifty pound per annum, one with another. Ten thousand of those, according to the computation of the number of parishes in England and Wales, at fifty pound per annum each, is half a million. He, therefore, proposes to make a more righteous distribution of the property of the church: First, by getting rid of all other names and appointments in the church establishment, save only those who perform the duty, and the order of prelates; and, afterwards, by making a suitable provision for the inferior clergy, which, under his regulation, are reduced to one single class, and for the archbishops and bishops.

As the whole duty of the church is at present performed for half a million, he proposes to set aside, for the same purpose, three or four times as much as is now received.

In order to secure the independence of the bench of bishops, he proposes to put an end to translations; and to remove every objection to this part of his scheme, he wishes to have all the bishops put upon an equality in respect of emolument, the two archbishops excepted; and let them, he adds, be made equal in point of profit between themselves, but double in point of proportion to the rest. That is to say, let every bishop receive a clear payment of three thousand pounds a-year, and the two archbishops six thousand pounds

per annum a-piece. And as there will remain, after these provisions are made, a very considerable overplus, not less than half a million ; let it go, in further relief of the land, as a provision for the poor. And here he observes, that no man ought to say he has sacrilegiously laid his hands upon the patrimony of the church. The regulation is perfectly agreeable to the original intention of the donors. For tithes were first granted, in part, for the maintenance of the clergy ; for the repair of church fabricks ; and, in part, for the relief of the poor. So that originally the clergy were only the distributors of those alms.

But, perverting this design, as the corruption of this order increased, they began to appropriate more and more of them to their own use ; and, at length, taking advantage of the supineness of the laity, and the debasement of their minds by religious fears, they boldly put in their claim to the whole, as their own, *by right divine* ; leaving the poor to the mercy of heaven, or the tender bowels of those, who, like the good Samaritan, and not like the priest, could not pass, without looking upon their distress, and administering relief.

These are truths which cannot be denied, and are even admitted by many of the clergy. But, whatever advantages might accrue either to the state, or to the cause of religion, by adopting this author's plan, it is not probable that the clergy of the present age would agree to it. But, if a commutation for tithes, which

has already taken place in some parishes, could become general, it would be attended with greater advantages both to religion, and the state, than any plan hitherto proposed.

CHAP. IX.

OF AGRICULTURE, THE PARENT OF POPULATION AND WEALTH.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that grain, and every other necessary of life, have, for a considerable time past, been so excessively dear and scarce in our markets, as almost to produce a famine; while, instead of cultivating our millions of waste acres, which might be made productive to the owner, and maintain numberless families, we have adopted the pernicious absurdity of wasting our blood and treasure, exhausting our resources, and incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin, by carrying on our continental wars, and extending our expensive and ruinous conquests.

It is justly observed, that commerce and manufactures are neither so permanent a source of national prosperity, as the proper cultivation of the soil; nor do they furnish occupation to a description of persons, so remarkable for the integrity of their private conduct, so little inclined to disturb the peace and good order of society, or so able to defend their country, by their personal vigour and strength, as the farmer and husbandman.

“The capital,” Dr Smith observes, “that is acquired to any country by commerce and manufactures, is all a very precarious and uncertain possession, till some part of it has been secured and realized in the cultivation and improvements of its lands. No part of the capital employed in trade, can be said to belong to any particular country, till it has been spread, as it were, over the face of that country, either in buildings, or the lasting improvements of lands.”

No vestige now remains of the wealth of the once great and commercial cities of Tyre and Carthage, except in history.

The policy of ancient Egypt favoured agriculture more than all other employments. The culture of lands, and the breeding of cattle, were inexhaustible funds of wealth to the people of Egypt; where the husbandmen and shepherds were in very great esteem. It was to these two professions that Egypt owed her riches and plenty; and it is from them that the most elevated ranks are furnished, not only with the necessaries, but even the luxuries of life. This kingdom, though small, and extremely populous, was always distinguished for its great exportation of grain. It was long the granary of the Roman, and still continues to be that of the Turkish Empire.

Notwithstanding their rich and extensive commerce, Spain and Portugal are, perhaps, the two most beggarly kingdoms in Europe. Their

commerce to the other parts of Europe, tho' chiefly carried on in foreign ships, is very considerable. That to their colonies is carried on in their own, and is much greater, on account of the riches and extent of those colonies. But it has never introduced any considerable manufactures, for distant sale, into either of those countries; and the greater part of both still remains uncultivated, their population, of course, is scanty, and the peasants, in general, are indolent and beggarly.

Montesquieu, speaking of the American and European mines, observes, "That those of Europe are extremely useful. They are found in the principal state; they employ many thousand men, who there consume their superfluous commodities; and they are properly a manufacture of the country.

The mines of Germany and Hungary promote the culture of land; the working of those of Mexico and Peru destroys it. The Indies and Spain are two powers under the same master; but the Indies are the principal, while Spain is only an accessory. It is in vain for politics to attempt to draw back the principal to the accessory; the Indies will always draw Spain to themselves.

Of the merchandize, to the value of about fifty millions of livres, annually sent to the Indies, Spain furnishes only two millions and an half: The Indies trade for fifty millions, the Spaniards for two and an half!

He concludes this subject with the following judicious remark, viz.: That must be a

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bad kind of riches which depends on accident, and not on the industry of a nation, on the number of its inhabitants, and on the cultivation of its lands. The king of Spain, who receives great sums from his custom-house at Cadiz, is in this respect only a rich individual in a state extremely poor. Were some provinces of Castile able to give him a sum equal to that of the custom-house of Cadiz, his power would be much greater; his riches would be the effect of the wealth of the country; these provinces would animate all the others, and they would be altogether more capable of supporting their respective charges; instead of a great treasury, he would have a great people."

Italy is the only great country in Europe which seems to have been cultivated and improved in every part, by means of foreign commerce and manufactures, for distant sale. Before the sixteenth century, Italy, according to Guicciardini, was cultivated not less in the mountainous and barren parts of the country, than in the plainest and most fertile. And though the discovery of a passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, greatly diminished the commerce and manufactures of Italy, it still continues to be the most populous and best cultivated in Europe.

The civil wars of *Flanders*, and the tyrannical government of Spain, which succeeded them, chased away the great commerce of Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges. But Flanders still continues to be one of the richest, best

cultivated, and most populous provinces of Europe.

The ordinary revolutions of war and government easily dry up the sources of that wealth which arises from commerce only. That which arises from the more solid improvements of agriculture, is much more durable, and cannot be destroyed but by those more violent convulsions occasioned by the depredation of hostile and barbarous nations continued for a century or two together; such as those that happened for some time before and after the fall of the Roman Empire, on the western provinces of Europe.

It appears, from the agricultural survey of the kingdom, that it contains about two and twenty millions of waste acres, of which there is one million incapable of all improvement, three millions fit to be planted, fourteen millions fit for upland pasture, one million capable of being converted into meadow, and three millions fit for tillage, provided they were inclosed.

Most soils, without doubt, may be turned to great profit, by inclosing them either with hedges, or stone-fences, and by skilful agriculture, providing they are dry.

Being enabled to write on this subject from experience, I shall begin by observing, that no general system of cropping, and round of crops, can be laid down that will apply in all cases; various soils, accidents and circumstances, will render deviations necessary and proper; and that every system of cropping should

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be adapted, with due attention to the staple and nature of the soil. To know the nature of the soil is the first thing requisite in an improver of the ground : And it is studying this, above all other things, that the man of fortune will best display his good taste, and the farmer increase his stock, and fill his barns.*

It is a common practice to sow wheat upon lands that are not in a fit state of cultivation, or in a fair regular course of husbandry. This.

* To every land great Nature has assign'd
 A certain lot, which laws eternal bind.
 Find out the nature of the mould with care,
 And what is proper for each soil to bear.
 From winter grain, that's sown in fallow mould,
 Twice warm'd by summer, and twice nipp'd by cold, }
 Your granaries shall scarce the product hold.
 By intervals your ground forbear to sow,
 That so the mould by rest may harder grow :
 Or change your seed, and for each crop of wheat,
 A crop of vetches, peas, or beans repeat.
 Flax, oats, and poppey, burn the tender soil,
 Yet sow by turns, they'll recompence your toil.
 Throw dung and ashes on your hungry field,
 As rest, the change of seed advantage yields.
 Many, I see, to aid the tardy soil
 Their seed with nitre mix, and lees of oil,
 Then pick with labour, and expose to heat
 At gentle fires, the hurtful sap to swe
 Yet still degenerates, unless with care
 You cull the fairest seed for every year.
 Thus cruel fate on all things here below
 Imprints decay, and all must backward go.

See the first book of Virgil's Georgics, translated into English verse by the Right Honourable John Earl of Lauderdale.

injudicious mode of culture will not even prove a temporary benefit, while the ill effects of it must certainly be felt in the succeeding crops.

If, in order to reduce the high price of wheat, it be deemed necessary to encourage the growth of that valuable grain, small premiums should be given to those who raise the largest crops on the acre. This would operate as an excitement to superior cultivation, and would secure the future, while it increased the produce of the growing crops.

Bounties should likewise be given to those who make the most rapid, successful, and effectual efforts, in the reclaiming and cultivating of waste land; and for the draining of bogs or fens, and improving such land into useful arable, meadow, or pasture.

It is an observation, founded on experience, that firing and lime are absolutely necessary to accelerate vegetation; and, if that be denied at the easiest rate, the crops will never be secured in time. Without plenty of cheap coals, and an easy water-carriage, agriculture and manufactures cannot be carried on to advantage. High duties upon coals, turnpike roads, and water-carriage, those impediments to agriculture and manufactures, ought, therefore, to be removed. For it is obvious, that the subject will be able to furnish supplies to the coffers of the Sovereign, just in proportion as the wise administration of a country facilitates, to the inhabitants, the means of getting into easy and comfortable circumstances by their industry.

It is generally admitted, that the size of farms should run from 100 to 500 acres : Farms of a smaller size than 100 acres, are deemed insufficient to pay a fair rent, and maintain a family. A good deal of clamour has, of late, been raised upon the consolidation of small farms. In times of dearness of provisions, it has been said, that no farm ought to exceed one hundred acres ; and such high price has even been charged upon inclosures. But let it be asked, who is it in general that raises the greatest surplus of grain for market, after the family is supplied ;—one farmer upon three hundred acres, or three farmers on one hundred acres each, supposing the land of equal fertility ? It has likewise been said, that the smaller farmers are obliged to carry their corn to market, whilst the larger withhold it. Admitting this as true, (which is very questionable,) would an yearly and general carrying of corn to market, secure a low price to the consumer ? Are there no individuals in the corn-trade and manufactures, that would endeavour to benefit their circumstances, by having the whole supply in the hands of themselves ? The fact is, in all cases, the more persons have corn in their hands, the cheaper it will be ; and every one who disposes of all he has, contributes towards a monopoly. Besides, would it not be hard, that a person well acquainted with agriculture, who had a capital of two or three thousand pounds, which he chose to employ in farming, should be precluded from so doing ? It must likewise be

observed, that it is only by means of the opulent occupiers, that improved systems of management and cultivation are to be introduced.

Were the ploughing with oxen to become general throughout the island, it would be attended with vast advantage both to the farmers and the community. It will, I hope, be admitted, that oxen will plough the ground as well as horses, and can be maintained at a much less expence, and, when worn out, fattened, and sold to the butcher :—A measure that would restore to the tables of poor gentlemen, as well as industrious artificers, roast-beef at a reasonable price ; a luxury they have long been deprived of by the impolitic and enormous use of horses. Horses literally feed upon the poor, and if avarice and luxury will, in spite of humanity and policy, encourage their extensive use, it is earnestly to be wished, that the Legislature will prohibit a practice so destructive to the general good of the community.

The greatest obstacles to agricultural improvements, are, poverty and tithes : And due encouragement from landlords may be considered and ranked amongst the principal incitements to improvement. It is obvious, that fencing, ditching, draining, marling, liming, town-manure, with the purchase and necessary support of stock, until the effect of such exertions can come round, form unsurmountable obstacles to a small capital ; and the risk is too great for such to run, for fear of failing

in the attempt. The landlords should, therefore, advance money upon such permanent improvements, and charge to the tenant interest at five *per cent* for the money so advanced. Were the proprietors to reserve a power in leases to lay out money in this way, and lay the interest on the rent, it would effectually answer the purpose of all parties concerned; of the landlord, by improving his land, giving him interest for his money, and the best security; of the tenant, by a certain and permanent improvement of his farm, which would well enable him to pay the additional rent; of the public, by removing an obstacle, and by furthering the means of national improvement.

It is evident, that tithes are a heavy tax on the efforts and exertions of human industry, and operate as a dead weight and check upon the spirit of improvement, which it is good policy to encourage by every means that can be devised. An equivalent in land must certainly be a more solid property than tithes, and ought to be accepted by the clergy. Land may be improved in any degree by good management and industry; tithes fluctuate or sink in value, at the will of the cultivator.

Though the land in several counties of Scotland seems to be very fit for cultivation, and such as, by industry, might produce good corn; yet the chief attention of the inhabitants is bestowed on the rearing of sheep, which is done with less expence and trouble, and with, perhaps, greater certainty of profit.

But I should think that the culture of grain, and the breeding of sheep, might be happily united ; and that the land in these parts might be made more profitable, both to the landlord and tenant, by inclosing the lower parts of the hills, and screening them from the rudeness of the climate by trees.

The proprietors of land, in the North and West Highlands, have of late converted large tracts to the rearing of sheep, that had in all former times been assigned for the breeding of black cattle. It is for the landholders and tenants in the South Highlands to consider, whether it would not be for their interest, in like manner, to employ certain portions of their pasture-lands, in breeding horned cattle, especially as they have a great advantage over the farmers of the north and west parts of the country, in their vicinity to England.

Where the climate is unfriendly, and the ripening of the corn a matter of great uncertainty, the grazing ground might be made more productive than it is at present, by making large inclosures, where grass will always grow better than when it is entirely open. This would feed more black cattle, and employ more people to attend them, than sheep do, the rearing of which, if continued to its present extent, will depopulate the whole country ;* for one family can attend as many

* Ill fares the land, to hast'ning ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade ;

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sheep as several miles will graze. Gentlemen, who are fond of large grazing farms and sheep-walks, should consider, that a raw material may be produced to overstock any market? and that the value of those useful animals, black cattle and sheep, increase in proportion to the consumption occasioned by the human species. Let the Legislature, therefore, facilitate the multiplication of the human race; in the due direction of whom, in peace as well as in war, the glory and the prosperity of a country depend.

Long leases, and a total abolition of services, those oppressive badges of the Feudal System, under which many of the tenants in the northern counties still labour, would be productive of much good to the landlord, his tenants, and the country at large. By making it the interest of those people to cultivate and improve the land, they will be industrious; the proprietor will be more certain of his rent, and might, at the expiration of the lease, raise it without oppressing the tenant.

It is abundantly evident that both extremes, in the rate of rent, are prejudicial to an estate; and that, in fixing a rental, as in all human affairs, there is a happy medium, which, though often difficult to find, always deserves to be sedulously sought. For the sake of permanent

A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride.
When once destroyed, can never be supply'd.

See DR GOLDSMITH'S *Deserted Village*.

advantage, both to the proprietor, and the community, it is to be hoped, that the system of rack-renting, which has proved so prejudicial to the land, to the owner, and to the tenant, will be abolished, or greatly mitigated; and every rational means of improving the agriculture of the kingdom adopted.

In fine, a general inclosure-bill, allotting a portion of land to the clergy in lieu of tithes, and the cultivation of our extensive tracts of commons, would not only employ the industrious poor, and the reduced soldiers and sailors, at the conclusion of the war, but increase the labour of the artificers and manufactures, and consequently the exports, as well as the population and revenue, of the kingdom: The Legislature, therefore, cannot be too attentive to agriculture, upon the prosperity or declension of which depends the increase or diminution of the power and wealth of the empire.

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CHAP. XV.

OF THE FISHERIES, THE SOURCES OF OUR NAVAL POWER.

IT is well known that we possess the most commodious and advantageous situations in the world for fishing, which would, if properly occupied, enable us, not only to produce fish of the best quality, and undersell all other nations at foreign markets, but increase our commerce, and contribute to the strength of our navy, the bulwark of the empire.

Notwithstanding which, and the large sums granted by Government in bounties, we have not been able to supply our own markets for home and colony consumpt, besides furnishing a surplus to our neighbours. This was partly owing to the act granting bounties on the tonnage of vessels employed in the herring fishery, which tended to obstruct the natural course of the trade, and promote only a narrow and confined monopoly.

It appears, from the custom-house books, that the quantity of herrings caught, from 1750 to 1779, amounted to 292,658 barrels, and the bounties, paid on the tonnage of vessels, amounted to 255,550 l. Notwithstanding

these enormous sums, paid to the English and Scotch adventurers, which amounted to about fifteen shillings and sixpence for every barrel, neither the home nor foreign markets were any better or cheaper supplied than formerly.

This exorbitant bounty, given only to the opulent, who were capable of forming great equipments, deprived the poor from reaping any benefit from the premium, and ruined the boat-fishery, which is, by far, the best adapted for the supply of the home-market ; while the iniquitous practices of the traders, in exporting fish improperly cured, and sometimes filling the barrels in part with stones, or lumber, lost to these kingdoms the confidence of foreigners, and the sale of herrings at the foreign market.

Upon this subject Dr Adam Smith observes, " that as the bounty was proportioned to the burden of the ship, and not to her diligence or success in the fishery, it was too common for vessels to fit out for the sole purpose of catching, not the fish, but the bounty." It must be obvious, that a bounty on a native commodity brought to market by one class of men, and no bounty on the same article, though of equal goodness, brought by the boat-fishers, must tend to discourage the poor industrious people, who are the most numerous, and the strength of the fishing. The boat-fishers ought to be encouraged in a particular manner. Bounties on herring, cod, ling, &c. should rather be given on production, than upon exportation ; and the Legislature ought to make no distinction who are the fishers, or how the fish is

caught, if only by British subjects. This would prove an effectual method of establishing the fisheries, increasing the quantity of fish at market, and breeding a number of hardy sailors for manning our navy.

The laws which tended to improve and extend the fisheries, were, the act passed in 1747, abolishing heretable jurisdictions, and giving security to property and personal liberty; and the act effectually suppressing the barbarous and unjust exactions of the last night's fishing in the week, by the ground-owners, or their factors, denominated, *saturday night's fishing*; as also sixteen shillings and eightpence for the privilege of wetting their nets, called *size-money*.

By an act passed in 1756, the privilege of taking British salt, duty-free, for curing fish for exportation, was extended to Scotland, with an option of entering, for home use, herrings so used, upon payment of one shilling *per* barrel of duty, in lieu of the duty upon the salt used in curing them; a most important advantage to the fishery.

By an act passed in 1786, the poor boat-fishers were allowed a small premium of one shilling for every barrel of fresh herring.

These laws have done more good than the bounties hitherto granted on the tonnage of vessels, and are a real service done to the fishery. By these laws encouragement is given to the boat-fishers, protection is afforded from injuries, and the benefit of the common beach, with a few yards of waste ground, are granted,

which are strong incitements to this branch of industry.

But, notwithstanding these regulations, and the exorbitant sums granted in bounties, it is a melancholy truth, that the Irish, the Dutch, the Swedes and Norvegians, undersell us at foreign markets, and will continue to do so, until our fisheries are placed on an equal footing with those of our rivals.

I shall, therefore, lay before the reader a concise state of their fisheries, and submit to his perusal some regulations, compiled from different authors, together with my own sentiments, as the probable means of improving our fisheries.

To their fisheries the Swedes, Danes, and Dutch, are chiefly indebted for their subsistence, as well as for their naval power.

SWEDEN, formerly a market for Scottish herrings, now supplies herself, the Baltic, &c. to the amount of 200,000 barrels annually, upon an average of years, at from eight to ten shillings per barrel. The herrings being caught near the mercantile city of Gottenburgh, by means of large nets, in the manner of the salmon-fishery, no extraordinary expence is requisite. This circumstance, with the cheapness of the casks, operates as a large bounty, by which the Swedes are enabled to undersell all other nations.

Of late years, there is a considerable herring fishery on the coast of Norway ; and the her-

rings being taken and cured at little expence, the Danes outrival us at foreign markets.

The *Dutch*, finding no herrings on their own coasts, obtained permission from one of our kings to fish on our coasts; and, owing to their assiduity, economy, superior method of fishing, curing, and raising cash for prosecuting their fisheries, they have carried off from the native proprietors this branch of commerce and national wealth. By fishing a few leagues further from the coast than we do, the Dutch make from two to three cargoes each season, whereby they are considerable gainers by the trade, without any bounty whatever, but the fruit of their industry; while we, with the fish almost at our doors, can hardly make the half of one single cargo, and even with a considerable bounty, are considerable losers *. All ranks and orders of people are concerned in raising cash for carrying on the Dutch fisheries. There is scarce a footman or maid-servant that is not an adventurer, as shares may be had in their companies, from twenty guilders to twenty thousand.

Ireland, formerly a market for Scottish herrings, hath not only supplied herself of late, but also become a rival at the West India

* Mr Knox, who has been at much pains to ascertain the produce of our captures, and extent of exports, for a series of years, asserts, that an average of seven years has just yielded half cargoes to the bounty-vessels.

market, through the wisdom, liberality, and unwearied exertions of her Parliament, particularly in bounties, which, by the first laws, amounted to twenty shillings Sterling per ton to all vessels carrying between 20 and 200 tons burden ; and is now raised to thirty shillings, besides one shilling and threepence per barrel for all herrings cured after the Dutch manner, also two shillings per barrel on all herrings exported. The Irish Legislature have likewise granted large premiums on the value of every store-house that should be erected for curing fish along the northern coasts of that kingdom. Thence, it is obvious, that, without a liberal support from Parliament, our fisheries cannot be carried on either to the advantage of the state or individuals.

Mr Knox, who seems to have been well informed on this important subject, among other regulations for improving our fisheries, proposes the following, viz.

“ That, to enable us to meet foreigners at the European and West India markets, on equal terms, certain aids, suited to the nature and modes of each respective fishery, are unavoidably necessary.

“ That, to render these fisheries subservient to the great purposes of naval strength, the extension of commerce, and the employment of the people, it will be expedient to encourage the same by means of decked vessels for the floating fisheries in the open seas, and by wherries for the coasts and inlets.

“ That nothing less than a general bounty, extending to vessels of every size, and to fisheries of every denomination, will be found effectual upon experiment ; neither can any plan be adopted, so simple in its operation, or less subject to frauds, jobs, collusions, or imposition.

“ That, in order to put our fisheries on an equal footing with those of Ireland, a tonnage-bounty, of at least forty shillings, extending to all vessels from twenty to an hundred tons, besides premiums on herrings, will be absolutely requisite.

“ That all vessels, which shall engage to prosecute the herring and other fisheries alternately through the whole year, be entitled to three pound per ton.

“ That all boats or wherries properly equipped, and carrying five men, and one or two boys, as apprentices, which shall prosecute the floating and ground fishery during the usual continuance of the herring on their respective shores, be entitled to an annual bounty of fifteen pound per boat.

“ That all such boats or wherries, which shall prosecute the herring and white fisheries alternately through the whole year, and whose crew shall not jointly or severally occupy any lands beyond acres each, and shall not exercise any profession or trade unconnected with the fisheries, be entitled to an annual bounty of twenty pounds.

“ That all custom-house fees, in whatever relates to fisheries, be abolished under a penalty.

“ That, as the laws respecting salt, however mild or indulgent, will ever prove a barrier against the extension of the national fisheries in general, it would be expedient to substitute another object of revenue equivalent to the 12,000 l. raised at present from salt, which, in this case, might be abolished.

“ That all bounties be immediately paid to the respective claimants, or their order, on producing satisfactory vouchers or proofs of their having conformed, in all respects, to the intent and spirit of the law.”

This intelligent writer concludes his propositions with the following melancholy observation : “ That two thirds of the harbours, and consequently many of the towns, in Scotland, have fallen into decay : That most of the inhabitants, instead of prosecuting fisheries, and coasting trade, have sunk into a state of sloth and indigence, become mere drones in society, subsisting upon a precarious illicit traffic in teas, spirits, tobacco, and the equally pernicious trade of receiving bribes, at the expiration of every seven years ; by which they are enabled to pay off old scores, and to drag through a miserable existence, unprofitable to their families, and their country.”

The correction of abuses, which have through time crept into the internal administration of the royal boroughs, by restoring their ancient systems of government, would undoubtedly

excite a general spirit of industry and commerce ; and contribute more to the interest of individuals, as well as the state, than all that can be acquired either by illicit commercial, or political traffic.

Mr *Pennant*, in his tour through the Hebrides, mentions several advantages that would accrue to individuals, the country, and government, were magazines established along these coasts.

A number of merchants, assisted by Charles the first, erected store-houses in some of the western isles, whether merchants and fishers resorted, for purchasing, catching, and curing fish. The scheme succeeded, until the civil war commencing, his Majesty had occasion for his money, and the merchants, unable to replace the stock, gave up the trade.

Were the Legislature to supply the proprietors of the ground with money, at three *per cent.*, in order to erect small villages and store-houses in the most central situations for the fishery, the advantages that would result to the public, and individuals, from the execution of this plan, must be immense.

The inhabitants of the villages would soon become wealthy, as well as numerous ; the boat-fishers would at all times find a ready market for their fish ; the bounty will lower the price, and contribute a good deal to the relief of a great number of our fellow subjects, whose circumstances are by no means affluent ; and the landlords would in a short

time be able to repay the money advanced by Government. The premiums granted to the boat-fishers, with a ready market for their fish, will stimulate them to industry, and enable them to procure every thing they stand in need of, for prosecuting the fishery the year round.

The merchants, always residing in the villages, can procure the first fish that appear in the season; and thereby avail themselves of the advantages of an early market. Having a great number of hands in employ, the quantity caught will always be considerable; and as soon as they are cured, they can be dispatched. The home-market will be regularly supplied; and when exportation to foreign parts is intended, their cargoes may be in Spain and Portugal as soon as the Dutch busses get to Holland to prepare for their departure.

I shall conclude this subject with an ardent wish, that our ministry will, in the approaching treaty of peace, prohibit the Dutch, who have long been our rivals in arms, as well as in commerce, from fishing in our seas. This measure would soon enable the British fishers to undersell all other nations at foreign markets; and would greatly add to the commerce, prosperity, and strength of the nation, by laying a solid foundation for breeding a race of the hardiest and best of seamen.

In the reign of Charles, the importance and value of our fisheries seem to have been properly understood, and would, under the royal patronage, have soon been improved, had not our wily neighbours the Dutch, who, foreseeing the downfall of their own in the rise of ours, been at pains, by their vile machinations, to foment the domestic quarrel, engendered by the sour sullen spirit of the Puritans, and put a total stop to the projected improvements; nor have they failed to throw what obstructions they can in the way of every attempt that has hitherto been made towards their re-establishment.

As our liberty, and existence as a nation, depend upon our naval superiority, supported by our military virtue, and that martial spirit which seems to pervade the whole nation, it is to be hoped, that our ministry will, at the expence of a people (rule them who will) whose behaviour and ingratitude merit the severest chastisement, adopt effectual measures for improving and extending our fisheries, the principal support of our navy.

It is an incontrovertible truth, that our home-trade, particularly that of the coal and the fisheries, are the best nurseries for breeding seamen, consequently they merit particular attention and encouragement from the Legislature. Our population, as well as our seamen, the real strength of the nation, are continually diminished by our wars, by peopling, protecting, and trading with our foreign colonies, particularly, by that impolitic, inhuman,

and barbarous traffic with Africa, the slave-trade, the grave of our seamen, which ought to be instantly suppressed*.

While we retain our East India territories, the Cape of Good Hope, the grand rendezvous of the ships of all nations, outward or homeward bound, will be a most valuable acquisition; but the possession of any other of the Dutch, French, or Spanish colonies, in the East or West Indies, will, instead of augmenting our power and wealth, increase the burdens of the people, as well as the influence of the Crown, retard the population of the kingdom, and accelerate the fall of the empire †.

* In this trade there are upwards of 12,000 seamen annually employed, of which, on an average, more than 2000 die in the course of the voyage; and many of those that return are unhealthy, and unfit for service.

† As our Ministry seem determined to retain Ceylon, it is probable that they intend to cede this fertile and extensive island to the Prince of Orange, as a compensation for the loss of Holland.

This island, the finest in the world, extends 250 miles in length and 200 in breadth. It has an excellent harbour, and plenty of wood and water throughout every part. It produces all the luxuries, as well as necessities, of life; and, lying in the Indian Ocean, near Cape Comorin, the southernmost extremity of the Hither Peninsula, is admirably situated for carrying on a commerce with India, China, the Asiatic islands, Africa, and Europe. And, owing to the late capture of the Dutch fleet alone, the Legislature will be enabled to put this Prince in possession of such a navy as will render him a maritime power, and a formidable ally.

It is presumed, that the cession of this island to a Company, whose trade is exclusive, and consequently a restraint and oppression upon commerce, and whose terri-

That lust of domination, as Sallust calls it, depopulated, as well as impoverished, and sooner or later brought on the ruin of, every state in the ancient world.

The foreign wars, and internal dissensions of the Greeks, once the freest people, the best soldiers, and the ablest statesmen in the world, gradually weakened and depopulated their country; and prepared the way for its final subjection.

Carthage, once the most powerful maritime, as well as commercial state in the ancient world, the most formidable rival Rome ever had to contend with, and which bears the greatest resemblance to Great Britain, both in

tories are already too extensive, and, in the opinion of some of our first politicians, an insupportable burden to this kingdom, would increase its burdens, diminish its population, and accelerate the fall of the British, as well as our Asiatic Empire.

It is well known to the intelligent reader, that Alexander the Great entered India by the north, which was inhabited in ancient, as it still is in modern times, by men of superior strength and courage; and the vigorous resistance made by the natives of those parts, rendered it as difficult for this hero to penetrate into the Indian Peninsula by land, as it has always been found easy by the maritime powers of Europe. to invade and subdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coasts. And it is to be apprehended, that the time is fast approaching when the Europeans, weakened by luxury and effeminacy, the inseparable concomitants of wealth, will be easily expelled from that country by its bold and warlike northern inhabitants.

her opulence, commerce, sovereignty of the sea, and her method of carrying on her land wars by foreign mercenaries, owed the loss of her trade, and total extinction, more to her European continental wars, for the sake of extending her commerce, than to the arms of the insidious Romans.

Montesquieu observes, " That the Romans were under the necessity of making laws to encourage the propagation of the species. By destroying others, they were themselves destroyed : incessantly in action, in the heat of battle, and in the most violent attempts, they wore out like a weapon kept constantly in use." This Empire, which stood alone for ages ; which had brought every rival under subjection, and saw no power from whom a competition could be feared, sunk at last under its own weight, and that of an artless, a barbarous, and contemptible enemy.

Such examples ought to excite the caution, and exercise the talents of politicians and statesmen. It is sufficient for me to recite them.

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CHAP. XVI.EFFECTS OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CORN-
BOUNTY.

IN the infancy of commerce, the merchants and manufacturers had the address to establish the false and selfish maxim, That the wealth of a country consists, not in its land, houses, and consumable goods, but in its gold and silver ; and that those metals could be brought into a country, which had no mines, only by the balance of trade, or by exporting to a greater value than it imported. Hence it became the great object of political economy, to diminish, as much as possible, the importation of foreign goods for home consumption, and to increase, as much as possible, the exportation of the produce of domestic industry.

Its two great engines for enriching the country, therefore, were restraints upon importation, and encouragements to exportation. By this system, the merchants and manufacturers obtained against all their countrymen the monopoly of the home-market, and enriched themselves at the expence of the community at large.

The country gentlemen, in order to put themselves upon a level with those who, they found, were disposed to oppress them, procured a bounty upon the exportation, and imposed high duties on the importation, of corn, and thereby obtained the exclusive privilege of supplying their countrymen with the first necessary of life.

The doctrine of the *balance of trade* is now exploded ; it is admitted, that the declension or prosperity of every nation depends on the balance of its annual produce and consumption. " If, (says Dr Smith,) the exchangeable value of the annual produce exceeds that of the annual consumption, the capital of the society must annually increase in proportion to this excess. The society, in this case, lives within its revenue, and what is annually saved out of its revenue, is naturally added to its capital, and employed so as to increase still further the annual produce. If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, on the contrary, fall short of the annual consumption, the capital of the society must annually decay in proportion to this deficiency. The expence of the society, in this case, exceeds its revenue, and necessarily encroaches upon its capital. Its capital, therefore, must necessarily decay, and, together with it, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its country."

It is a melancholy reflection, that, by the establishment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, the public revenue should have been so long loaded with a considerable ex-

pence, as well as the people with a very heavy tax, and this tax still increasing, owing to the immense sums lately expended on bounties upon the importation of foreign corn to supply the home-market, and prevent the lower classes of the people from starving.

It is evident, that, in years of plenty, the bounty, by occasioning an extraordinary exportation, necessarily kept up the price of corn in the home-market above what it would naturally fall to. In years of scarcity, though the bounty is frequently suspended, yet the great exportation which it occasions in years of plenty, must frequently hinder more or less the plenty of one year from relieving the scarcity of another. Both in years of plenty, and in years of scarcity, therefore, the bounty tends to raise the money price of corn somewhat higher than it otherwise would be in the home-market. Hence it is obvious, that as the bounty upon corn occasions a greater exportation in years of plenty, it must occasion a greater importation in years of scarcity, than in the actual state of tillage would otherwise take place.

It is to be observed, that the corn-bounty, as well as every other bounty upon exportation, imposes two different taxes upon the people; first, the tax which they are obliged to contribute, in order to pay the bounty; and, secondly, the tax which arises from the advanced price of the commodity in the home-market, and which, as the whole body of the people are purchasers of corn, must, in this

particular commodity, be paid by the whole body of the people ; in this particular commodity, therefore, this tax is by much the heaviest of the two. Let us suppose, that, taking one year with another, the bounty of five shillings upon the exportation of the quarter of wheat, raises the price of the commodity in the home-market only sixpence the bushel, or four shillings the quarter, higher than it otherwise would have been in the actual state of the crop:—Even upon this very moderate supposition, the great body of the people, over and above contributing the tax which pays the bounty of five shillings upon every quarter of wheat exported, must pay another of four shillings, upon every quarter which they themselves consumed. But, according to the well informed author of the tracts upon the corn-trade, the average-proportion of the corn exported, to that consumed at home, is not more than that of *one to thirty one*. For every five shillings, therefore, which they contribute to the payment of the first tax, they must contribute six pounds four shillings to the payment of the second.

So very heavy a tax upon the first necessary of life, must either reduce the subsistence of the labouring poor, or it must occasion some augmentation in their pecuniary wages, proportionable to that in the pecuniary price of their subsistence. So far as it operates, in the one way, it must reduce the ability of the labouring poor to educate or bring up their children ; and must, so far, tend to restrain the

population of the country. So far as it operates in the other, it must reduce the ability of the employers of the poor, to employ so great a number as they otherwise might do, and must, so far, tend to restrain the industry of the country. The extraordinary exportation of corn, therefore, occasioned by the bounty, not only in every particular year, diminishes the home, just as much as it extends the foreign market and consumption, but, by restraining the population and industry of the country, its final tendency is to restrain the gradual extension of the home-market; and thereby, in the long-run, rather to diminish than to augment, the whole market and consumption for corn.

The bounty upon the exportation of corn enables foreigners, the Dutch in particular, not only to eat our own corn cheaper than they otherwise would do, but sometimes to eat it cheaper than even our own people can do upon the same occasions, as we are assured by a respectable authority, that of Sir Matthew Dicker. It hinders our own workmen from furnishing their goods for so small a quantity of silver as they otherwise might do; and enables the Dutch to furnish their's for a smaller. It tends to render our manufactures somewhat dearer in every market, and their's somewhat cheaper than they otherwise would be; and consequently to give their industry a double advantage over our own.

The bounty upon the exportation of corn is liable to this farther objection, that it can

in no respect promote the raising of that particular commodity of which it was meant to encourage the production. When our country-gentlemen, therefore, demanded the establishment of the bounty, though they acted in imitation of our merchants and manufacturers, they did not act with that complete comprehension of their own interest which commonly directs the conduct of those two other classes of people. They loaded the public revenue with a very considerable expence ; they imposed a very heavy tax upon the whole body of the people ; they did not, in any sensible degree, increase the real value of their own commodity ; and, by lowering somewhat the real value of silver, they discouraged, in some degree, the general industry of the country ; and, instead of advancing, retarded more or less the improvement of their own lands, which necessarily depends upon the general industry of the country.

To encourage the production of any commodity, a bounty upon production would have a more direct operation, than one upon exportation. It would, besides, impose only one tax upon the people, that which they must contribute in order to pay the bounty. Instead of raising, it would tend to lower the price of the commodity in the home-market ; and, thereby, instead of imposing a second tax upon the people, it might, at least in part, repay them for what they had contributed to the first.

The prohibition of exportation limits the improvement and cultivation of the country to what the supply of its own inhabitants requires. The freedom of exportation enables it to extend cultivation for the supply of foreign nations.

Dr Adam Smith, of whose labours I have frequently availed myself, observes, " That were all nations to follow the liberal system of free exportation, and free importation, the different states into which a great continent was divided, would so far resemble the different provinces of a great empire. As, among the different provinces of a great empire, the freedom of the inland trade appears, both from reason and experience, not only the best palliative of a dearth, but the most effectual preventative of a famine ; so would the freedom of the exportation and importation trade be among the different states into which a great continent was divided. The larger the continent, the easier the communication through all the different parts of it, both by land and by water ; the less would any one particular part of it ever be exposed to either of these calamities, the scarcity of any one country being more likely to be relieved by the plenty of some other. But very few countries have entirely adopted this liberal system. The freedom of the corn-trade is almost every where more or less restrained, and, in many countries, is confined by such absurd regulations, as frequently aggravate the unavoidable

misfortune of a dearth into the dreadful calamity of a famine."

"The temporary laws, prohibiting, for a limited time, the exportation of corn, and not only taking off, for a limited time, the duties, but granting bounties upon its importation, expedients to which Great Britain has been obliged so frequently to have recourse,—sufficiently demonstrate the impropriety of her system of corn-laws. Had that system been good, she would not so frequently have been reduced to the necessity of deporting from it."

As the corn-bounty, therefore, loads the revenue with a very considerable expence, imposes a very heavy tax on the whole body of the people, discourages manufactures, and retards the cultivation, as well as the population, of the country, it, and every other bounty, except that granted to the herring and whale fisheries, which contribute to the defence of the nation, by augmenting the number of its sailors and shipping, ought to be entirely withdrawn.

By the suppression of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, which has sometimes cost the public in one year more than three hundred thousand pounds, besides large sums granted in bounties, particularly last year, upon its importation, a saving of more than two hundred thousand pounds might be made in the annual expence of the government.

This measure is become indispensably necessary, in order to lower the price of the first

necessary of life, to lighten the burthens of the people, crouching under a load of taxes, and increase the population of the kingdom, the real strength of the empire.

CHAP. XVII.

EFFECTS OF REGULATIONS IN THE DUTIES OF CUSTOM AND EXCISE.

OWING to an immense peace-establishment, the consequence of our wars, and extent of dominion, the Legislature has been obliged to impose heavy taxes, not only on the luxuries, but on all the necessities of life. The expences of collecting these taxes, including bounties and drawbacks, amounts to an enormous sum, and has considerably increased the burthens of the people.

Taxes on the necessities of life, unless they are compensated by a proportionable rise in the wages of labour, must necessarily diminish, more or less, the ability of the poor to bring up numerous families, and consequently to supply the demand for useful labour.

Taxes upon luxuries have no tendency to raise the price of any other commodities except that of the commodities taxed. Taxes upon necessities, by raising the value of labour, necessarily tend to raise the price of all manufactures, and consequently to diminish the extent of their sale and consumption.

Taxes upon luxuries are finally paid by the consumers of the commodities taxed, without any retribution. They fall indifferently upon every species of revenue, the wages of labour, the profits of stock, and the rent of land. Taxes upon necessaries, so far as they affect the labouring poor, are finally paid, partly by landlords in the diminished rent of their lands, and partly by rich consumers, whether landlords or others, in the advanced price of manufactured goods; and always with a very considerable overcharge. The advanced price of such manufactures as are real necessities of life, and are destined for the consumption of the poor, must be compensated to the poor, by a farther advancement of their wages. The superior and middling ranks of people, if they understand their own interest, and that of the state, ought always to oppose all taxes upon the necessities of life, as well as direct taxes upon the wages of labour. The final payment of both one and the other falls altogether upon themselves, and always with a considerable overcharge.

The duties of Excise are imposed chiefly upon goods of home-produce, destined for home-consumption. They are imposed only upon a few sorts of goods of the most general use. There can never be any doubt either concerning the goods which are subject to those duties, or concerning the particular duty which each species of goods is subject to.

The duties of Customs are much more ancient than those of Excise. They seem to have been called customs, as denoting customary payments, which had been in use from time immemorial. They appear to have been originally considered as taxes upon the profits of merchants. During the barbarous times of feudal anarchy, it was not understood that the profits of merchants are a subject not taxable directly; or that the final payment of all such taxes must fall, with a considerable overcharge, upon the consumers.*

The gains of alien merchants were looked upon more unfavourable than those of English merchants. It was natural, therefore, that those of the former should be taxed more heavily than those of the latter. This distinction, between the duties upon aliens and those upon English merchants, which was begun from ignorance, has been continued from the spirit of monopoly, or in order to give our own merchants an advantage both in the home and in the foreign market.

With this distinction the ancient duties of customs were imposed equally upon all sorts

* Sir Francis Blake justly asserts, "That the present price of every commodity is a compound of cost, profit, tax, and imposition; which latter sum, being more or less incident to every tax, is that which renders the present mode of raising a revenue so peculiarly distressing. For, almost in every instance, when one farthing only is required by Government, advantage is taken to raise the price at least a penny, as every man's experience can bear witness."

of goods, necessities as well as luxuries, goods exported as well as goods imported. Why should the dealers in one sort of goods, it seems to have been thought, be more favoured than those in another? Or, why should the merchant-exporter be more favoured than the merchant-importer?

Those duties have now, with a few exceptions, been laid altogether upon importation. The greater part of the ancient duties, which had been imposed upon the exportation of the goods of home-produce and consumption, have either been lightened, or taken away altogether. In most cases, they have been taken away; and bounties have even been given upon the exportation of some of them. Drawbacks, too, sometimes of the whole, and, in most cases, of a part of the duties which were paid upon the importation of foreign goods, have been granted upon their exportation. This growing favour of exportation, and discouragement of importation, have suffered only a few exceptions, which chiefly concern the materials of some manufactures. These, our merchants and manufacturers are willing should come as cheap as possible to themselves, and as dear as possible to their rivals and competitors in other countries.

It is, therefore, evident, that the mercantile system has not been very favourable, either to the great body of the people, to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, or to the revenue of the Sovereign; so far, at least, as that revenue depends upon the

duties of customs. In consequence of that system, the importation of several sorts of goods has been prohibited altogether. This prohibition has, in some cases, entirely prevented, and, in others, has very much diminished, the importation of those commodities, by reducing the importers to the necessity of smuggling. The high duties which have been imposed upon the importation of many different sorts of foreign goods, in order to discourage their consumption in Great Britain, have, in many cases, served only to encourage smuggling, and, in all cases, have reduced the revenue of the customs below what more moderate duties would have afforded.

The bounties which are given upon exportation of home-produce and manufactures, and the drawbacks which are paid upon the re-exportation of the greater part of foreign goods, have given occasion to many frauds, and to a species of smuggling more destructive than any other. In order to obtain the bounty or drawback, the goods, it is well known, are sometimes shipped and sent to sea; but soon after clandestinely relanded in some part of the country. The defalcation of the revenue of the customs, occasioned by bounties and drawbacks, of which a great part is obtained fraudulently, is very great.

The gross produce of the customs, in the year which ended on the fifth of January 1775, amounted to 5,068,000 l. The bounties which were paid out of this revenue, though in that year there was no bounty upon corn, amount-

ed to 167,800 l. The drawbacks, which were paid upon debentures and certificates, to 2,156,800 l. Bounties and drawbacks together, amounted to 2,324,600 l. In consequence of these deductions, the revenue of the customs amounted only to 2,743,400 l., from which, deducting 287,900 l. for the expence of collecting, the neat revenue of the customs, for that year, comes to be 2,455,500 l.

In the above mentioned year, the gross produce of the different duties, under the management of the Commissioners of Excise in England, amounted to 5,597,308 l, which was levied at an expence of little more than five and a half *per cent.* From this gross produce, there must be deducted the bounties and drawbacks paid upon exciseable goods, which will reduce the neat produce to 4,975,652 l. The net revenue of the customs, for the same year, does not amount to two millions and a half, which is levied at an expence of more than ten *per cent.* in the salaries of officers, and other incidents. But the perquisites of custom-house officers are every where much greater than their salaries; at some ports more than double or triple those salaries. If the salaries of officers, and other incidents, therefore, amount to more than ten *per cent.* upon the revenue of the customs; the whole expence of levying that revenue may amount, in salaries and perquisites, to more than thirty *per cent.* The officers of excise receive few or no perquisites; and the administration of that branch of the revenue being of more recent establishment,

is in general less corrupted than that of the customs, into which length of time has introduced and authorised many abuses.

In order that the greater part of the members of any society should contribute to the public revenue, in proportion to their respective expence, it does not seem necessary that every single article of that expence should be taxed. The revenue, which is levied by the duties of excise, is not only collected at a small expence, but falls as equally upon the contributors as that which is raised by the customs; and the duties of excise are imposed upon a few articles only of the most general use and consumption. It has been the opinion of many people, that, by proper management, the duties of customs might likewise, without any loss to the public revenue, and with great advantage to foreign trade, be confined to a few articles only.

The foreign articles, of the most general use and consumption in Great Britain, seem, at present, to consist chiefly in foreign wines and brandies; in some of the productions of America and the West Indies; sugar, rum, tobacco, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c.; and, in some of those of the East Indies, tea, coffee, china-ware, spices of all kinds, several sorts of piece goods.

These different articles afford, perhaps, at present, the greater part of the revenue which is drawn from the duties of customs. The taxes which, at present, subsist upon foreign manufactures, except those upon the few contained in the foregoing enumeration, have the

greater part of them been imposed for the purpose, not of revenue, but of monopoly, or to give our own merchants an advantage in the home-market.

By removing all prohibitions, and by subjecting all foreign manufactures to such moderate taxes, as it was found, from experience, afforded upon each article the greatest revenue to the public, our own workmen might still have a considerable advantage in the home-market; and many articles, some of which, at present, afford no revenue to Government, and others a very considerable one, might afford a very great one.

High taxes, some times, by diminishing the consumption of the taxed commodities, and sometimes by encouraging smuggling, frequently afford a smaller revenue to Government than what might be drawn from more moderate taxes.

By introducing into the customs a system of administration, as similar to that of the excise as the nature of the different duties will admit, the public revenue, as well as the difficulty of smuggling, might be considerably increased.

It has frequently been said, that a greater revenue than what is at present drawn from all the heavy taxes upon malt, beer and ale,*

* According to Dr Smith, "the amount of the duties upon malt, beer, and ale, cannot be estimated at less than twenty-four or twenty-five shillings upon the produce of a quarter of malt."

might be raised by a much lighter tax on malt; the opportunities of defrauding the revenue being much greater in a brewery than in a malt-house; and those who brew for private use being exempted from all duties, or compositions for duties, which is not the case with those who malt for private use.

By taking off, therefore, all the different duties upon beer and ale, and by tripling the malt tax, or by raising it from six to eighteen shillings upon the quarter of malt, a greater revenue might be raised from this single tax than what is at present drawn from all those heavier taxes*.

In the distillery of malt spirits, both the opportunity and the temptation to smuggle, are much greater than either in a brewery, or in a malt-house; the opportunity, on account of the smaller bulk and greater value of the commodity; and the temptation, on account of the superior height of the duties.

By increasing, therefore, the duties upon malt, and reducing those upon the distillery, *new* both the opportunities and temptation to smuggle would be diminished, which would occasion a considerable augmentation of revenue.

* It is difficult to imagine any equitable reason why those who brew for private use should not be subject to the same duties as those who brew for sale. A tax of eighteen shillings on the quarter of malt would not only increase the revenue, but enable the inhabitants of towns and villages to purchase that indispensable necessary of life, malt-liquor, much cheaper than they do at present.

It has, for sometime past, been the policy of the Legislature to discourage the consumption of spirituous liquors, on account of their supposed tendency to ruin the health, and to corrupt the morals, of the common people. According to this policy, the abatement of the taxes upon the distillery ought not to be so great as to reduce the price of those liquors. They might remain as dear as at present; while the wholesome and invigorating liquors of beer and ale might be considerably reduced in their price. The great body of the people, the principal supporters of the state, might thus be in part relieved from one of the burdens of which they very justly complain the most; while, at the same time, the revenue might be considerably augmented.

It is probable, that, by confining the duties of customs to a few sorts of goods, and by levying those duties according to the excise laws; by increasing the duties upon malt, and reducing those upon the distillery, by abolishing all bounties upon the exportation of home commodities, in all cases in which those bounties were not in reality drawbacks of some duties of excise which had before been advanced; by removing all prohibitions, and subjecting all foreign manufactures to such moderate taxes as it was found, from experience, afforded upon each article the greatest revenue to the public, a saving of at least 400,000 l. might be made in the annual expence of the customs and excise; and the trade and manufactures of the country would certainly gain a very considerable advantage.

CHAP. XVIII.

CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM THE SALE OF GIBRALTAR, THE CESSION OF CANADA, AND THE ABOLITION OF ALL GREAT SINECURE PLACES, WHETHER IN CHURCH OR STATE.

THE people of Great Britain have not only lavished their blood and treasure, in extending their conquests through every quarter of the globe, but have been loaded with additional annual burdens to maintain and defend them.

Gibraltar, that impregnable rock, is not intrinsically worth, to this nation, the powder and ball that were expended in its late gallant defence ; and will be a perpetual bone of contention between Spain and Britain.

It has been in our possession above eighty years, and, including its annual expence, which amounts to almost half a million, and the expences incurred by the wars sustained for its defence, has already cost this nation above eighty millions.

It has been said by some, that Gibraltar is the key to the Mediterranean ; but others have, with great truth, affirmed, that our fleets are not only the keys to that sea, and to all

others, but our fortresses; and the mariners, that trade and commerce only can furnish, are the garrisons to defend them.

Dr Adam Smith observes, " That the protection of the Mediterranean trade was the original purpose or pretence of the garrisons of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and the maintenance and government of those garrisons have always been, very properly, committed, not to the Turkey Company, but to the executive power. In the extent of its dominion consists, in a great measure, the pride and dignity of that power; and it is not very likely to fail in attention to what is necessary for the defence of that dominion." He adds, " I would not, however, be understood to insinuate, that either of those expensive garrisons was ever, even in the smallest degree, necessary for the purpose for which they were originally dismembered from the Spanish monarchy. That dismemberment, perhaps, never served any other real purpose than to alienate from England her natural ally the king of Spain, and to unite the two principal branches of the house of Bourbon in a much stricter and more permanent alliance than the ties of blood could ever have united them."

In the Spanish negotiation in 1757, the Earl of Chatham, then Mr Pitt, " proposed to cede Gibraltar to Spain ;" and again, in 1761, " he offered it as the price of the family-compact." These proposals evince, that this fortress was

not, in the opinion of that eminent statesman, of much importance to Britain.*

It has been often asserted, that Spain would purchase this fortress at the expence of ten millions. This, the Earl of Stair observes, would be a double advantage, an expence ceasing, and a profit arising; and both together would, it is presumed, produce to the public a benefit of one million yearly." But, notwithstanding this Noble author's calculation, I shall only estimate the price of this fortress at one million, to be added to the sinking fund; and its annual expence would be a saving to the nation of above four hundred thousand pounds. Besides these advantages, by removing this bone of contention, it is certain that many millions, and much blood, will be saved to both nations.

The conquest of *Canada* cost Britain many millions, and put an end to her sovereignty over her colonies. After the reduction of that province, the Americans had nothing to fear from a foreign enemy; they accordingly renounced an authority, of which they never thoroughly approved.

This nation hath expended above one hundred and fifty millions, in establishing and defending her American colonies, and in an unsuccessful struggle to retain their allegiance; and now only possesses the bleak and barren country of Nova Scotia, and the wild and ex-

* Vide his Life, in two large volumes, lately published.

tensive province of Canada*, that invaluable acquisition, which was to supply our West India islands with every thing necessary for their cultivation, and the subsistence of their inhabitants, and to indemnify us, by its furs, for all the treasure expended in our wars on that continent.

I would ask the candid and intelligent reader, What advantages we presently reap, or what are those we may have in expectancy, from this blessed country? Will they ever be equal to its peace-establishments, which exceeds four hundred thousand pounds annually; much less to the expence which must be incurred by defending it from the encroachments of its neighbours?

This province, instead of affording our islands the necessary supplies, cannot support its own inhabitants: Government has been obliged to open a trade with the States of America, not only to supply the islands, but the province itself, with provisions and other necessaries†.

The Dean of Gloucester observes, " That, since the reduction of the province of Canada, beavers, furs, and hats, are dearer than ever; and that all the woollens, which have been consumed in that country by the native

* This province extends about 800 miles in length, and two hundred in breadth. It is divided into three governments, Quebec, Montreal, and Trois Rivières.

† America will always supply our islands with provisions; and Nova Scotia will afford them lumber, &c. and its harbours an asylum for our Newfoundland fishers.

inhabitants, do hardly amount to a greater quantity than those very soldiers and sailors would have worn and consumed, who were lost in the taking, defending, and garrisoning that province."

As Gibraltar affords not any revenue, and Canada a very small one, for defraying the expence of their civil and military peace-establishments, but greatly increase the expence of the government of the Empire, it would be good policy to sell the former to the king of Spain, and cede the latter to Louis XVIII. It would be an asylum for this unfortunate prince and his adherents, particularly his nobility and clergy, in our island, who are an additional burden on a people, already overloaded with taxes to support their own poor and government.

By the prince's residing in Canada, it would be governed at a small expence, to which his subjects, as countrymen, would cheerfully contribute. It would soon become populous, and the inhabitants, from gratitude, as well as interest, would be good customers to Britain; and its cession, instead of diminishing our revenue, would not only increase it, but reduce the expence of government four hundred thousand pounds annually.

With regard to the colonies of France, a late writer observes, " That colonial possessions have been so unanswerably demonstrated to be commercially useless, and politically ruinous, that the conviction of philosophers can-

not fail of having, in due time, its effect on the minds of enlightened Europe, and delivering the French empire from this cumbrous and destructive appendage."

The maintaining distant possessions, by a strong naval and military force, when these possessions do not yield a revenue sufficient to defray the expence, must end in the ruin of every country. The Spanish monarchy was not so much debilitated by the loss of the seven United Provinces, as by the expence of maintaining those which adhered to her.

The commercial and warlike republics of Athens and Carthage, as well as the great ancient empires, were first weakened by, and finally sunk under the weight of, their distant and expensive colonies and conquests.

Have not our colonies and conquests already weakened, and are still weakening, the empire? Are we not obliged to maintain a great military and naval force, in order to defend our American provinces and islands?

Has not experience taught us, that, since the loss of America, we enjoy a more advantageous commerce with it as an independent state, than we did when it formed a part of the British dominions? * Is it not probable, nay, almost certain, that America will, in the

* The United States consumed annually of British produce, according to a six years average, ending with 1792, - - - L. 2,807,306
Ditto, ending with 1774, only - - - 2,216,824

space of a century, rise to be a powerful maritime and commercial empire. Can we then long preserve Canada, Nova Scotia, or even our West India islands? Certainly we cannot.

Warned, therefore, by the recent dismemberment of our own empire, by that of the Spanish monarchy, and by the fall of all the mighty states and empires in the ancient world, we ought to learn to guard against the spirit of conquest; as the tranquillity and strength of all those states and monarchies decreased in proportion as they were extended. Let us set bounds to that lust of dominion, for the sake of extending our commerce, with which we have been infatuated during a whole century; and let dear-bought experience teach us, that our conquests and colonial possessions have weakened the empire, and that, in order to give it stability, and relief to the people, for whose benefit and safety every free government was instituted, it ought to be disencumbered of all its expensive and ruinous appendages.

Owing to the refractory spirit of the Corsicans, and the expence of defending a place of no importance to Britain, our troops have evacuated this island; by which prudent measure, a considerable annual saving must take place at the conclusion of the war; and the troops may, in the mean time, be sent to reinforce our West India armies, thinned by the war, and the diseases incident to the climate.

The abolition of all the great *sinecure places* in the *Church*, according to Sir Francis Blake, would be an annual saving of *half a million*: And it is presumed, that the suppression of all sinecure places, both civil and military, after the death of the present possessors; a greater reduction of the military peace-establishment than has hitherto taken place: a considerable reduction of all salaries above five hundred pounds *per annum*; together with the savings arising from Mr Burke's plan of reform in his Majesty's household, would lessen the expences of government another half million yearly. But as this subject, discussed with a tolerable degree of accuracy and knowledge, would fill a volume, I may, perhaps, at a future period, collect the sentiments of others upon an evil which is yearly increasing, and lay them before the public.

CONCLUSION.

I SHALL conclude this Treatise, which I have taken the liberty to submit to the indulgence of a candid public, with some observations on the true policy of Great Britain.

It will, in my opinion, be the true policy of Britons, to curb that thirst of conquest, for the sake of extending their foreign commerce, with which they have been too long infatuated; to enter into a commercial treaty with France, let who will govern it; to improve and extend the agriculture, the fisheries, and the internal trade of the kingdom, and thereby increase its population and wealth, the real strength of every nation.

It is a melancholy reflection, that, notwithstanding the vast extent of our foreign dominions, our immense debt, and heavy taxes, and while millions of British acres, as well as the greater part of our colonies, lie uncultivated, we should not only neglect our foreign, but internal improvements, by extending our conquests, at the expence both of our population and wealth.

Unfortunately, our foreign commerce is the principal branch of trade that seems to be at-

tended to by a number of modern political writers. Such has not always been the case. About the beginning of this century, a political miscellany was published, entitled, *The British Merchant*, under the immediate inspection of Mr Gee, Sir Josiah Child, Sir Theodore Janson, and others of the most distinguished rank in the political and mercantile line, whose sentiments on this subject the author expresses thus :

“ The first and best market of England are the natives and inhabitants of England.” And he further computes, “ That all our foreign markets cannot be equal to one-twentieth part of our own, for taking off our native produce and manufactures. It remains, therefore, continues he, as I said at first, that our own consumption, the consumption of our own people, are the best and greatest market for the products and manufactures of our own country.

The preservation and increase of this market ought, therefore, to be the thing principally attended to.”

Had that maxim been attended to, and had it not been for our wars and conquests, and that predilection for foreign commerce, the pressure of our taxes would, at present, be scarcely felt ; and the internal trade and population of the kingdom vastly increased.

Drs Anderson and Smith, two respectable authors, who wrote lately, observe, “ That our foreign commerce, and home trade, would have increased to a much greater degree than

they have done, had it not been for our colonies."

"The pressure of our taxes," Dr Anderson justly observes, "has been greatly augmented in consequence of the paucity of our people, which has been, in a great measure, occasioned by the emigrations to our colonies, and our exertions in their defence. If, with the expence of government, he adds, the number of people encreases in an equal proportion, the same taxes will become more productive, so as to answer the exigencies of the state, without pressing more heavily upon any individuals, or discouraging manufactures in the smallest degree. If, on the contrary, that expence be greatly augmented, while the people do not increase nearly in the same proportion, new taxes become necessary. Every individual must contribute more to the state than formerly. The price of manufactures must be enhanced, and the foreign demand must be diminished in proportion.

"From hence it appears, that as the great business of a modern minister is to contrive ways and means for defraying the expence of government, without discouraging the agriculture or manufactures of a state, one effectual method of attaining that end is, to promote as much as possible the population of the kingdom.

"Since the discovery of America, this mode of augmenting the national revenue seems to have been entirely overlooked in Europe. In consequence of our settlements on that con-

continent, and its islands, the national expence has prodigiously increased, and, in proportion to that augmentation, has our population been retarded. At the first period, five millions of people, paid by taxes to the amount of one million and a-half *per annum*; which amounted to about six shillings a-head. At present, (the time this author wrote) nine millions of people pay fifteen millions *per annum*, about one pound fourteen shillings a-head, which is almost six times the former sum. A disproportion which has raised the price of our manufactures, and retarded their sale in every market to which they can be sent. An evil this that has been often felt, and complained of, though little care has been bestowed to discover the source from whence it springs, or to guard against the effects that may naturally be expected from it.

“ Had our people, instead of being sent to our colonies, been kept at home, our manufactures would have been far more numerous than at present; and we should have been freed of all the expence that has been laid out in the settlement and defence of those colonies, which can hardly be reckoned at less than one third of the whole national expence. Instead of twenty millions, our expenditure would, in all probability, have scarcely amounted to six millions a year; and, instead of nine millions of people, we should, in all probability, have possessed fifteen. In that case, our whole taxes, instead of forty four shillings and five pence, would not have amounted to more

than seven shillings and sixpence a-head. I leave the reader to consider what encouragement our manufactures would have received in regard to foreign trade, had such a rise in our taxes never taken place. In that case, we should not have been obliged to have recourse to monopolies, and other similar contrivances, to support our decaying manufactures, but would have found a ready sale, in the world at large, for all we could have produced, without the aid of any compulsory means whatever."

Some authors, with a view to demonstrate the importance of our colonies, enter into a pompous detail of all the benefits that flow from trade; the whole of which they pretend that Britain derives from her colonies; inferring from thence, that if we had not been possessed of these colonies, we never could have experienced any of those benefits.

On this subject, I would observe, that experience fully refutes the argument. According to the above reasoning, Spain, which possesses the most extensive colonies of any European power, should likewise enjoy the most extensive commerce; while Holland, whose trade to her own colonies (were it to do no more than supply their own demands, could easily be managed by one single vessel) should possess next to no trade at all. The fact, however, is directly the reverse. Holland, which possesses scarce any colonies,* carries on a

* I do not reckon her possessions in the East India colonies, properly so called.

very extensive and lucrative commerce; whereas the trade of Spain is small, and is, to her, rather destructive in its consequences. In Holland, manufactures flourish, though she has no extensive market abroad of her own people to whom she can send them. In Spain they languish, although she has a most extensive territory in America, peopled with her own subjects, who depend on Europe for a great part of their manufactures, and to whose trade she claims an exclusive title.

From these facts, it is evident, that neither trade nor manufactures are inseparably connected with colonies. Britain enjoys a great trade, and carries on considerable manufactures, while she likewise possesses extensive colonies. This, however, does not imply but she might have enjoyed a still more extensive trade, and more flourishing manufactures, without any colonies at all, had circumstances concurred to produce that effect.

It has likewise been said, that our colonies have been the sole cause of that superiority at sea which is possessed by Britain, without which she must have ever remained an inconsiderable state, perpetually exposed to insults from her more powerful neighbours.

But is it not merely in consequence of an extensive trade, that any state can ever be enabled to acquire a superiority at sea? And has it not been just now shewn, that trade is not necessarily connected with colonies? If so, neither can naval power be necessarily dependent on them. In fact, Britain possessed

the superiority at sea before she had any colonies at all. Spain never enjoyed it, although she has always had more extensive colonies than any other European power. The Dutch, when they applied their minds to war, without possessing a single inch of territory beyond the bounds of their own marshes, beat the Spaniards in every part of the globe. It is not, therefore, colonies that ensure a superiority at sea: It is other circumstances, that may or may not be connected with them.

It is an extensive commerce with foreign nations, a great home-trade, and other internal resources, that ever did, and always will, secure to a state the superiority at sea. Our ruinous European continental wars, our expensive and depopulating plans of conquest, ought, therefore, to be for ever abandoned; all sinecure places, and useless establishments abolished; a system of rigid economy in every department of government adopted; and every thought, every effort, directed towards the navy, the commerce, the internal improvement, the population and revenue of the kingdom, the real bulwarks of the empire.



THE END.

